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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2193

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6 September 1983

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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YOUTH URGED TO AVOID UNREALISTIC JOB EXPECTATIONS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 92, 25 Jun 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Professional Expectations Among GDR Youth Can Be Fulfilled 'Only Conditionally.'" A translation of the East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Studies have shown that young people in the GDR set high standards for their vocational activity. Above all they want an interesting activity with as much independence and freedom of choice as possible, a job which "is fulfilling." But the sociologist Dr Barbara Bertram of the Central Institute for Youth Research in Leipzig has observed that such expectations can "be fulfilled only conditionally" (JUNGE GENERATION, No 6). Therefore she argued for increased political-ideological indoctrination work among the young people, in order to impress on them at an early age attitudes toward work such as a sense of duty, a readiness to exert themselves, and staying power. During the period of choosing an occupation, vocational interests must be developed among the young people which correspond to the GDR's occupational structure. According to the GDR sociologist, many young people get the wrong orientation or have little understanding of their future work.

GDR Sociologist's Discussion

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 83 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr Barbara Bertram, sociologist: "On Workers' Youth Congress--FDJ (Free German Youth): Attitude to Work--Achievement--What Are Socialist Work Concepts? What Do They Achieve? How Are They to Be Implemented?"]

[Text] Great economic problems must be solved in the 1980's. Everyone is affected by this in some way. Work attitudes are important to the achievement of each individual, to his well-being on the job and to the overall development of his personality.

Attitudes to Work...

Are orientations to values which the person has about his work activity and his job in the society. They manifest themselves as interests, concepts,

convictions, or dispositions toward work, one's occupation, his plant, further education, achievement, and many other circumstances of the working process. Depending on their content and direction, they activate a person toward work activity--or else they do not. Those attitudes are desirable which promote achievement and satisfaction. Above all, socialist attitudes to work should be developed among the youth. By their nature they are directed toward "work for the common good" (Lenin): Working not only for one's own needs, but also quite consciously for the development of the socialist society. This means, for example, to conceive of high achievements as a civic duty--to do more than absolutely necessary, to fully utilize one's working time, to give thought to considerations beyond one's own job, to be creative, to help others to the best of one's ability, to do one's best in the socialist (vocational) competition, to be careful with social resources. In the last analysis, to have socialist attitudes to work means to be aware that in our State, one is a joint owner of the means of production and must behave accordingly.

Studies show that great results have been achieved in the development of socialist work attitudes among young people. It is worth stressing that their vital interests are directed strongly toward occupation and work. Along with partner and family, these two things are among the highest goals in life. Chances for an education and job security are recognized as high socialist values in life. Some 90 percent of the apprentices, young skilled workers, and students stressed that their vocation is of (very) great importance in their life; only 1 in 100 indicated that this was not true in his case. Some 93 percent felt satisfied with respect to their occupation; 94 percent would even consider their happiness in life to be diminished if they could not cope with their job tasks. Young women responded in the same fashion as young men.

#### ...And How They Are Stamped

Today there are two components in particular which are of great importance to the further stamping of work attitudes on young people:

1. Political-ideological convictions. Only they can lead to truly socialist attitudes to work. Understanding and a readiness to want to work for the society presuppose, among other things, an identification with our social order, an appreciation of the economic and political tasks, and a comprehending of the character of work and of the role of each individual in the State. This is achieved only by way of political-ideological awareness. It is expressed, for example, in the choice of an occupation for which society urgently needs workers, or in the development of socially meaningful motives for work (for example, striving for the fulfillment of quotas as a strong incentive for achievement).

2. Sense of duty and readiness to make an effort. These do not constitute the essence of socialist work attitudes, but they indisputably are a part of them. To constantly fulfill one's duty is an important basic attitude in the life of a person--but it must first be learned. To behave consistently in this way can bring a deep inner satisfaction to the person. Not less important are a readiness to exert oneself and staying power (bringing



the work to a good conclusion even if it is difficult, tedious, dull) and diligence (going all out, beating the norm, fully utilizing the working time).

Having been furnished with an extensive education, the standards for a job set by many apprentices and skilled workers are high: Above all it should be an interesting activity, with as much independence and freedom of choice as possible, a job which "is fulfilling." But such expectations can be fulfilled only conditionally. Therefore it is necessary to pay more attention in the political-ideological work to a dictate made by Karl Marx: The "proper will is that which expresses itself as an attentiveness which is exacted for the entire duration of the work, and all the more so the less it...sweeps along the worker, namely the less he enjoys it as a game of his own physical and mental powers."

#### Development of Conviction and Will

Many factors have an influence on this, and various methods are suitable. In any case, what is important is the long-range impressing of work attitudes; necessary conditions for this arise as early as in the person's school days.

People who are productive to a high degree were usually very committed to learning and work even in their childhood, and especially in their leisure time.

Conversely: Very productive pupils are later successful in their vocation far more frequently than others are. That is a consequence not only of their intelligence, but also of their attitudes: They have learned early how to concentrate intensively on a subject, to keep seeking approaches to problems until these are found, and also to pursue a hobby further when there are "slack periods." Pupils who show a sense of responsibility to the class team, are ready to help, are industrious, and have a good attitude toward learning have better work attitudes later, as a rule.

Of course, also of importance is how the time is used for making vocational choices, so that--together with the skills and inclinations acquired in their polytechnic training--those interests and convictions can be developed above all which correspond to our occupational structure. Every young person should love his occupation. Some of them at first view this quite one-sidedly, get a wrong orientation, or have little understanding of their (future) work. To avoid this, an exchange of ideas in the FDJ collective can be very useful. (Worth discussing, for example, are the questions: What should be the motives for choosing an occupation? What is likable, interesting, pleasant about certain occupations? What things are important in working life?)

Furthermore it is also essential to become aware of various ethical-moral principles of work. Aside from the already mentioned sense of duty, these include for example the sense of honor of the professional or skilled worker, which can be a strong driving force on behavior. The concept



of "German craftsmanship" formerly expressed this sense of honor of German skilled workers. Craftsmanship from the GDR deserves at least the same status. Today, this and other orientations to values are proper not only to the educational objectives of the FDJ, but just as much so to vocational training and in the school.

On ethical-moral principles, values in life are not only motivations for achievements in school and on the job. In fact, such basic attitudes are also important elements in the development of the personality. Most of the young men and women want to become "good" people, perform humanistic deeds, be useful, not senselessly vegetate. Values such as a sense of duty, a sense of honor, but also decency, uprightness, honesty, and fairness are all helpers along this path. To acquire them is a process. The FDJ group can do some things as well to this end.

#### Important Topics for Discussions

For example, the following questions could be used for reflecting upon socialist work attitudes:

What pertains to the honor of a good pupil, apprentice, skilled worker?

What role is played by a sense of duty in our life?

Where are typically socialist attitudes to work seen?

What is creativity in our sector?

Of what can we be proud in our vocation?

What kind of "reputation" does our plant have?

What characterizes us as possessors of socialism?

It is necessary to always refer to those problems which affect us directly and which in their effects are important to society.

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PREVENTION OF ABUSES IN CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 32 No 7 pp 544-552

[Article by Gotthold Bley and Helmut Grieger, GDR Academy of Political Science and Law: "Possibilities and Basic Directions in Preventing Violations of Civil Law Contracts Pertaining to Supply Relations of Citizens"]

[Text] The effectiveness of socialist law in implementing economic and social policies in their unity depends on the extent to which apartment rental, purchasing and service contracts are smoothly taken care of, possible conflicts are surmounted, and future impediments are prevented.

Apartment rental, purchasing and services are matters that touch on the citizens' fundamental interests and needs. Setting up and carrying out such contracts also create important conditions for the working people's creative and productive efforts in the production process. This--as legality in its entirety--amounts to an important factor for improving our economic efficiency. When everyone assumes his responsibility to the fullest extent, with high discipline and creatively, the greatest successes are achieved.\*

It doubtless is a task that goes far beyond civil law to examine the efficiency in which these relations are organized, determine the quiddity and social nature of what disturbs their implementation and the causes and conditions that give rise to such disturbances, so as to draw inferences, on that basis, for surmounting and preventing them. This is all the more important for further developing and perfecting preventative efforts in supply relations under civil law control because in the past civil law violations were, to be sure, included under the provisions for "fighting and preventing crimes and other law violations," though in detail they mostly amounted to findings in the ascertainment of crimes.

I

Research in this field thus far demonstrates the extraordinary variety of crimes reflected by their actual differences as well as the diversity of causes

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\*Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech at the Fifth SED Central Committee Session, "Coping With the Tasks Ahead for the Good of the People With Energy and Confidence," Berlin, 1982, p 24.

and conditions and their social effects. That holds true not only with regard to the distinctions between criminal law, labor law, civil law and other violations, but even for the differences of law violations within any given branch of law. In the public domain under civil law there are not only differences between contract violations and law violations outside of contracts, but even within the contract violations (e.g. violations of purchasing and rental contracts), and there are even considerable differences to be found among the legal violations of a given type of contract (e.g. in the lease). In describing the violations of civil law contracts and for organizing efficient prevention in this field, the following considerations are among the most authoritative ones:

1. Lease, purchase and service contracts result from the partners acting under their own responsibility (e.g. retail enterprises and citizens). The principles on civil law relations under one's own responsibility, mandatory general norms of conduct and the obligation the citizens and enterprises have to work together determine all these provisions on civil contractual law and impose on the contract partners the basic requirements for smoothly dealing with contractual relations and thus for preventing contract violations as such. That mainly means that citizens and enterprises preparing and substantiating lease, purchase and service contracts are as concretely as possible informed about their reciprocal rights and duties in that they are unequivocally formulated and leave no doubt in the contract that would facilitate controversy on diverse interpretations of the contract or lead to contract violations.

2. The Civil Code also differentiates in dealing with the legal status of the citizens and enterprises, which shows that here also we have overcome the positions of bourgeois law treating legal subjects as formally alike. The basis for the legal status of the citizens and enterprises and for their relations with each other is found in real social relations, in the real responsibility the citizens and enterprises bear and have to implement in structuring the supply relations.

The centerpiece of supply relations under civil law control lies in exhausting all the real possibilities resulting from the social status of all involved for satisfying the citizens' needs and developing their personality and their creative talents and abilities. The enterprises have the task to create the prerequisites for systematically satisfying the citizens' needs through an appropriate production and commercial activity. That also finds its expression in the enterprises' general supply obligations made statutory in the Civil Code.

3. For effectively preventing contract violations it is imperative to disclose the duty violation and the causes that led to it. Causes reveal much about the social character of the contract violation and, hence, about the social need and possibilities for a target-directed prevention.

The objective and requirement and the ways and means of prevention greatly depend on where the causes were found, whether contract violations are due to poor organization in management activity (e.g. unintelligible or unsuitable delineation between areas of responsibility), lack of labor discipline because

of a haphazard use of labor law responsibility, in adequate commodity control and so forth. It is important to know, e.g., whether in the field of apartment leases it is a matter of the landlord's having violated his obligation to keep things under good repair or a matter of failing to pay the rent, in the purchasing field, a matter of the seller's having violated his quality performance obligation or of the obligation to deliver according to schedule.

Unlawful conduct by the citizens often means that they culpably infringe their contractual obligations. Especially when citizens fall behind in making payments it is often due to individualistic views and modes of conduct.

Unlawful actions by enterprises call for different evaluations. In the actions taken by an enterprise the overall attitude of the collective becomes manifest. It is a composite of what the associates and managers do to meet their concrete legal obligations. There is a connection between the "outer-directed" duties of the enterprise (economic and civil law) and the web of labor obligations by the members of the enterprise collective (labor law). As causes for civil law contract violations by the enterprises, along with that component, there are mainly two determination composites that critically control the enterprises' dealing with their obligations: 1. The overall level of the enterprise including the scientific-technical level of the manufacture, processing, storage and use of commodities and the managerial control over those processes; and 2. the cooperation with the preceding and subsequent links in the chain of cooperation and the attitudes of those partners toward their fulfilling their contractual obligations.

4. For exploring the causes and organizing effective prevention, disclosing and assessing the objective as well as the subjective side of illegal actions are important.

The subjective side is expressed, among citizens, in deliberate or negligent modes of operation and, among the enterprises, in failing to make use of all possibilities for acting in conformity with contracts that are given in the collective by the socialist production relations. Even if, for ensuring the performance principle, facts of the case in civil law responsibility abstract from the subjective and volitional aspects of actions as they really exist and the pertinent sanctions apply (with the exception of damage claims) regardless of whether fault has been proven, it yet seems suitable, for the correct social evaluation of the contract violations and for gaining insights into organizing prevention measures, to disclose and assess an unlawful action in its entirety.\*

5. Investigations thus far have shown that causes and conditions for contract violations under civil law in supply relations have to a considerable extent been dealt with by labor, economic, constitutional and administrative law, which are all outside of civil law. To take effective prevention measures in relations under civil law control, one must therefore penetrate into those outside relations. That way alone can one more accurately determine the content of such conflicts and their causes and the chances and basic directions in preventing and solving conflicts (all the way to better coordination among responsibility provisions in the various branches of law).

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\*It is understood that this cannot be a task for the organs of justice exclusively.



## II

Also with respect to civil law it may be said that the vast majority of the citizens not only voluntarily and consciously abides by law but more and more citizens resort to the right that is constitutionally guaranteed to them, to take an active part in overall social and political life. The majority of the citizens makes a reasonable use of social wealth, of the various goods society has to offer, guards and augments socialist property, and makes use of the personal property acquired through honest work. It is a reflection of the socialist ethical and legal conception that most of the duties set down in the Civil Code are voluntarily being fulfilled. For implementing civil law in general and for preventing civil law violations, in particular, we have today a most favorable starting position that is objectively and firmly rooted in the status of overall socialist development.

Also the prevention of civil law contract violations and their causes in supply relations is, like every other kind of prevention of law violations, a component of the overall social fight against law violations, of the common concern of socialist society, its state and all its citizens (Constitution, Article 90 section 2). Yet we must never ignore that the prevention of civil law contract violations is undertaken for a different social objective, with different measures and legal means, than the fight against the manifestations of crime that harms all of society.

The prevention of civil law contract violations undeniably is not exhausted by applying legal means. Even so, improving the effectiveness of socialist law, the rigorous application of the law in force and, above all, the coordinated cooperation of the various branches of law turn out to be an important factor for effectively preventing civil law violations. The effectiveness of the prevention of civil law contract violations by and large depends on the general level of socialist legality.

It is of crucial importance then to realize how important the Civil Code principles (Articles 1 through 16) are for prevention and to activate preventive efforts based on them. Those principles address the requirements that have to be observed and respected by state organs, enterprises and citizens for the sake of making civil law relations more effective. They address not only the immediate partners of civil law contracts but mainly also the state organs and enterprises, which have the obligation to create and guarantee basic prerequisites and conditions for concluding and properly abiding by these contractual relations. The Civil Code principles serve the shaping and further development of social relations, which includes the prevention of civil law violations.

An essential importance for successful prevention in this field attaches to the various forms in which the citizens and collectives get involved in it. The right of participation the citizens and collectives have applies in principle to all civil law relations relevant to working and living conditions. It serves to nurture and systematically use the various initiatives from the citizens. Here a point must be made, however, of the duty of the state organs and enterprises to support the citizens' participation in every way.



The participatory right of the citizens and their collectives identifies their social responsibility for smoothly supplying the population, proper as to qualities and assortments, with dwelling units, commodities and services. The Civil Code chapters on lease, purchase and services regulate the basic requirements made on the social responsibility of the citizens for taking part in the preservation, renovation, expansion and modernization of dwelling units, the improvement of commercial activities, and the provisioning with consumer commodities and services. Thus the citizens are entitled

1. to serve on residential area and enterprise commissions to ensure the citizens' basic right to dwelling units and to secure a fair distribution of dwelling units (Civil Code Article 96),
2. to take part, as tenants, in shaping housing conditions within the framework of tenant joint management and in other forms, particularly in the maintenance and repair, beautification and modernization of apartment houses, in providing care and protection for them (Civil Code, Articles 97, 114 ff),
3. to exercise an advisory and control activity on customer advisory councils and commissions at sales facilities and assist sales facilities in meeting their supply obligations (Civil Code, Article 135 section 1),
4. to bring an influence to bear, in particular, through the customer advisory councils and commissions, on assortments, customer service and sales culture, help preserve order and safety in sales outlets, and have the citizens' reasonable demands taken into account (Civil Code, Article 135 section 2),
5. to submit recommendations, within the scope of their serving on advisory councils and commissions, to managers of retail enterprises, the next-higher economic management organ or competent official organs on improving commercial activities or eliminating deficiencies (Civil Code, Article 135 section 3), and
6. to have their recommendations and suggestions entered in the customer notebooks maintained at the sales facilities, business offices and service enterprise registries (Civil Code, Articles 136, 163 section 2).

### III

The contract partners play a big role in preventing civil law contract violations in supply relations. They are the ones who primarily must and can decisively affect the lease, purchase and service contracts in terms of quality and deadlines.

It is the social task of the contract partners in the preparation, substantiation and fulfilment of lease, purchase and service contracts that they protect and enforce the legally guaranteed rights and interests and reciprocally contribute to improving their cooperation. The partners jointly draw up the contract and define its substance, which heightens their responsibility for meeting the obligations assumed and, thus, for enforcing socialist legality. From this derives the requirement set down for lease, purchase and service contracts, as for any other kind of supply contract, to define the partners' rights and duties in the contracts in such a way that the contract partners can exercise a thorough control over the fulfillment of obligations. When the contract partners meet these demands, the efficacy of the contract is heightened and possible contract violations are prevented. That is in line with the general demand for purposefully improving the efficacy of law and helps develop the citizens' socialist modes of conduct and relations and ensure the implementation of their rights and duties.

Fulfilling a contract, proper as to qualities and deadlines, depends on the partners' responsible exercise of their legally and contractually guaranteed rights and their abiding by obligations assumed. Any exercise of law is unauthorized that pursues aims which contradict the legal regulations or the principles of socialist morality (Civil Code, Article 15 section 2). Being illegal, it may lead to civil law sanctions (Civil Code, Article 68 section 1). If contract violations still cannot be avoided and lead to conflicts between contract partners, efforts made by the contract partners themselves to settle the conflict should precede an application for legal protection (Civil Code, Article 16). That is in line with the increased awareness of those involved in civil law relations; and this is shown, particularly, in that the rules of conduct stipulated by civil law are more and more being observed on a voluntary basis. Courts should act only when the partners of lease, purchase and service contracts could not resolve and settle the conflict and when attempts made and measures taken by social forces or state organs to avoid civil law litigation have turned out to be unsuitable or ineffective.

If courts are resorted to with regard to contract violations, they principally seek to settle the conflict. Yet their responsibility also is to prevent contract violations because settling civil law conflicts is important not only for undoing law violations. It also is of a preventative effect on law violators and, furthermore, the first essential factor in generally preventing civil law contract violations. By investing civil proceedings and their analysis with educational functions, by a targeted use of court critiques vis-a-vis enterprises, economic management organs and so forth, and by placing, in suitable cases, proceedings before organized public audiences, the courts encourage the supply enterprises and citizens to enforce civil law in their own responsibility and thus bring an influence to bear on the development of socialist personalities.\* To that extent then, the courts in their civil law jurisdiction are making a contribution of their own to fulfilling the main task.

#### IV

The areas in which changes must be sought due to insufficient attention and implementation of the supply relations controlled by civil law are territorially under the overall responsibility of the local people's representations and their organs. That includes the management of trade, provisioning and services (cf. e.g. Law On Local People's Representations, Article 39), of construction, urban construction and housing (ibid., Article 40). When citizens petition local state organs with respect to civil law contract violations in supply relations, they normally request their support for settling a conflict.\*\* This also uncovers significant deficiencies in inadequate provisioning efforts and their causes as a signal to the local state organs. Opinions have been expressed, which are not convincing, according to which civil law litigation cannot be settled by way of petitions because court enforcement and thus ultimately this way an enforcement of claims be possible.\*\*\*

\*Cf. W. Strasberg, "The Role of the Civil Code in Jurisdiction--A Contribution to the Implementation of the Main Task," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, p 66.

\*\*Cf. "Zivilprozessrecht Lehrbuch" [Textbook on Civil Law Procedure], Berlin, 1980, p 24.

\*\*\*Cf. K. Boenninger and T. Schoenrath, "The Right of Complaint--Instrument

When citizens have attempted and failed in amicably settling civil law conflicts, they can resort to petitions to the competent state organs in accordance with Civil Code Article 16. That fully conforms with the petition law, it seems to me. A petition is a legal tool the citizens may choose for their legal protection. Assistance for the settlement of a civil law conflict, as sought by such a petition, does not bring it about, however, that thereby a civil law claim is decided which can then no longer be enforced by way of court proceedings. Petitions neither have the legal function of court suits nor of applications made to social courts. And that is the reason why for claims from civil law contract violations court trials always remain possible between supply enterprises and citizens.

The council areas in housing policy, commerce and supplies as well as the local supply economy in the local state organs and the enterprises under their jurisdiction receive a special responsibility for drawing up and fulfilling civil law contracts because of the fact that their provisioning tasks in the final analysis are always effected through civil law contracts. More attention has to be given to this aspect in state management activity. For that reason, the competent associates of local state organs must resolutely meet the substantive demands made on the handling of petitions. For the sake of generalizing the best experiences in the processing of petitions on provisioning deficiencies during the fulfilment of civil law contracts, and of the need to draw conclusions from still not sufficiently working with the petition law, the analytic work with petitions must be further perfected. The analysis of civil law contract violations and their causes compels improving management activity in provisioning enterprises and heightening the responsibility of the associates in the provisioning enterprises toward meeting their work obligations.

If civil law is to become more effective, we will have to make the managers and associates of provisioning enterprises more aware of that obligations assumed are an inseparable component of enterprise tasks. Enterprise supply tasks must not only be understood as economically relevant requirements; above and beyond that, they are of a social, and hence, legal nature. That calls for more than just knowing the legal norms. Knowing legal norms truly comes into its own only when an ideological position is taken that is implied in and linked with them.\* The attitude of the managers and associates of supply enterprises on an unconditional observance and enforcement of law and on resolutely opposing any duty violations connected with it is, when management handles this appropriately, an essential basis for the entire collective's position on and attitude toward law.

More or a personal responsibility shown by the managers and associates of the supply enterprises will assist the inclusion of civil law in management activity. For managers and certain associates, the work tasks to which they are committed implies determining and fulfilling civil law contract relations directly, as representatives of the enterprise, assisting in their fulfilment

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for the Protection of Citizens Rights and for the Further Improvement of State Management Activity," STAAT UND RECHT, 1972, pp 20 ff; W. Klemm and M. Naumann, "Zur Arbeit mit den Eingaben der Buerger" (Working With Citizens' Petitions), Berlin, 1977, pp 38 ff.

\*Cf. "Wirksamkeit des Wirtschaftsrechts" (Efficacy of Economic Law), Berlin, 1979, pp 156 ff.

and, if need be, taking the necessary measures and decisions if contract violations occur. This task is part and parcel of the responsibility assigned to the working people, as of Article 80 section 1 of the Labor Code, to exercise their labor obligations with prudence and initiative.

## V

To get to deeper and theoretically more valid statements, we must more closely examine and more concretely determine through further research the various levels on which the prevention of civil law contract violations takes place, the subjects involved, and their tasks and ways and means of collaboration. State organs, economic management organs, combines and enterprises as well as the citizens may be the subjects in the prevention of civil law contract violations. They have to assume a definite sphere of responsibility in shaping supply relations and preventing contract violations in accordance with their position within the production management and planning process, in the distribution and in consumption.

From the vantage point of the current state of research, three levels of prevention suggest themselves. The first and highest level lies in carrying out general social measures. They relate to all sectors of public life. Legislation plays a special role there. The second, in-between, level entails discriminating measures taken in bezirks, kreises, towns, combines and specific enterprises. It aims in particular at eliminating concrete objective and subjective shortcomings in the activities of various organs, organizations, combines and enterprises and at resolutely applying legal means to affect the law violations committed. Conflict preventing efforts on this level are closely linked with the planning problems in territories and enterprises. That includes measures that would ensure high qualities in the products and services meant for public supplies, e.g. socialist competition in the enterprises, and the effort to produce high qualities and avoid rejects, make-up work and other avoidable warranty backup work. The third level is that of individual prevention, that of dealing with the law violator directly; measures there taken against citizens and enterprises may be diverse in kind.

5885

CSO: 2300/366



BOOK ON CRUCIAL STAGES IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 7 (signed to press 24 Jun 83),  
Jul 83 pp 777-780

[ "On the History of the State-Church Relationship in the GDR"--Review by  
Dr Klemens Richter, theologian, professor of practical theology, Department of  
Catholic Theology, Muenster University, FRG; of book "Konfrontation oder  
Kooperation? Das Verhaeltnis von Staat und Kirche in der SBZ/DDR 1945-1980"  
(Confrontation or Cooperation? The Relationship Between State and Church in  
the SOZ/GDR, 1945-1980) by Horst Daehn, in "Studien zur Sozialwissenschaft"  
(Studies on Sociology) series, vol 52, published by Westdeutscher Verlag,  
Opladen, 1982, 295 pages, DM 38.00]

[Text] Reinard Henkys, one of this country's foremost authorities on the  
Evangelical Church in the GDR, is fully justified in stating in the preface  
(p 7) to this work that the author, "as a political scientist, was above all  
able to exploit and study in depth the surprisingly fruitful church sources on  
the history of the state-church relationship in the GDR from the beginning to  
the present time and to present important results in this book. He thus opens  
up to further GDR-research an area that heretofore, to be sure, has been  
handled in contemporary journalism but has hardly been touched by political  
science." This habilitation paper, accepted for 1980-1981 by the faculty  
council of the faculty for history and social and economic sciences of  
Stuttgart University, makes abundantly clear the relevance of nonsocialist  
areas of life for the GDR state and its society, but at the same time, it shows  
that so far the investigation of these areas in the framework of GDR research  
is still something to be desired. It is to be hoped that this work can provide  
the impetus for changing this.

Decisive is the fact that for the first time, this work by a political  
scientist represents a scientifically supported overview of the state-church  
relationship in the GDR that does not simply rely on earlier inadequate  
publications, but that has examined the entire source material--to the extent  
that this was possible--and made it accessible for scientific research.  
Thereby, however, it was almost exclusively the relationship between the GDR  
state and the Evangelical Church that was considered. Only one short chapter  
attempts to include "the Roman Catholic Church" (pp 172-184) in the picture.  
As early as page eight, the author states bluntly why that is so: "the help by  
the Catholics was as meager as the cooperation shown by the Evangelical Church



was great. Unfortunately, the author was not permitted to examine the contents of the bishopric's archives." That may also throw a revealing light on the voluminous but scientifically worthless work on "Die Katholische Kirche in der DDR. Gemeinden in der P<sup>r</sup>auerung 1945-1980" [The Catholic Church in the GDR. Congregations on Probation 1945-1980] (Mainz 1980) by an author from this very same West Berlin full professorship.\*

One should not, of course, fail to recognize that there is a similar problem in regard to the party and state sources on church policy. It is not enough to use, for example, the church-policy rhetoric from CDU publications that tend to obfuscate the actual church-policy measures of the GDR leadership. Daehn is therefore obliged to ascertain the state attitude through its reflection in church statements and reports and in theological arguments. This certainly not easy task seems to have been solved superbly here, whereby he presents the state-church relationship in reference to the GDR and sensibly foregoes a comparison with the churches in the FRG.

The structure of the work is oriented toward the various phases of the state's church policy. Thus the first four chapters deal with these periods in chronological order: "1. Attempts at Cooperation Between KPD/SED and the Evangelical Church in the Soviet Occupation Zone 1945-1949" (pp 11-33). After presenting the sociopolitical and socioeconomic ideas of the KPD and SED for a new order, the church-policy positions of these parties are dealt with, as are the corresponding concepts in the church area after the zero-hour. In a closing section on church and education, in the literature not previously handled discussion is presented on the basic decision of what weight, if any, Christian tradition as well as religious instruction should have in the school system of the Soviet Occupation Zone and in the GDR's constitution of 1949.

The second chapter is entitled "The Phase of Confrontation 1949-1958" (pp 34-69), and is dedicated to the conflict of goals in the educational system and the state restrictions on church youth work. It investigates the problems of youth consecration and the religious-welfare contract in the armed forces. To be sure, here there are no totally different findings per se compared with earlier authors, but all sources are handled freshly. One difference that was also previously registered by R. Henkys may be found in the fact that Daehn assigned no special weight to the considerations of the Germany policy and reunification policy of church leaders and politicians, considerations that at the time had a very strong impact on the state-church relationship. That may be because here, as in the other chapters, the society is not so much the focus of attention, and no attempt is made to discuss the immediate overall and social-policy goals of the SED as the driving force behind church-policy decisions. Daehn is concerned only with state and church.

The third chapter deals with the period of the "Lessening of the Confrontation Between State and Church 1958-1969" (pp 70-100), which, however, is given a question mark by the author. Discussed are Ulbricht's offer of state cooperation in the area of peace policy, the permanent areas of conflict--such as youth consecration, leading to new models of the confirmation

\*Review: "Deutschland Archive Vol 13, 1981, pp 964-967.

regulations--or refusal of military services on religious grounds. Also included is the dismantling of national church structures, as shown by statistical data. Daehn comes to the conclusion "that there was no linear trend in the sense of a constant restrictive church policy by the state that limited the freedom of action of the religious communities to the purely religious area and in this way shut out any influence on public life" (p 98). Along with the permanent conflicts, above all in the area of education, "forms of pronounced favoritism toward the churches" may be noted.

The author sees the fourth period as the "Phase of Relaxation in the Relationship Between State and Church Since 1969" (pp 101-171). Included in this period are the founding of the League of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, the areas of tension in education and training, the uniform socialist educational system, socialist military training, political and ideological training largely in nonscholastic institutions such as FDJ and youth consecration, as well as the consequences of the state educational processes. Discussed is the changed church attitude toward the party's claim on education under the aspect of a church in socialism and not a church in addition to or against socialism. But also shown are the areas for cooperation between state and church: the commitment of the church in the area of the deaconry, its action in support of human rights and to secure peace (final CSCE document in Helsinki) and for ecological questions. It is interesting that in presenting state-church relationships from 1969 to the present, there is no discussion of the conversation between Honecker and the directorate of the League of Churches on 6 March 1978. Not until the eighth and final chapter, "A Backward Glance--6 March 1978--Outlook," does Daehn make mention of this (pp 193-201), with the accurate characterization that this conversation does not represent a turning point in the state-church relationship, for this turning point was already begun 7 years earlier, at the end of the Ulbricht era. Honecker's church policy continued the change introduced in a speech by Paul Verner. In a briefer summary, the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters deal with "The Roman Catholic Church" (pp 174-184), "Other Religious Communities" (pp 185-186), and "Secular Groupings As a Filter for Church-Policy Objectives of the SED" (pp 187-192), such as the CDU, the Prague Christian Peace Conference and the Berlin Conference of European Catholics. When Reinhard Henkys is able to state that he has "found no false or undocumented presentation of facts" in this work, but has found "a wealth of new facts," although scarcely anyone knows the material as well as he, then one can fully agree with this judgment\* with respect to the area of the Evangelical Church and the state's church policy. As a matter of fact, there is not a single cliché from the earlier literature passing judgment on the state-church relationship, and fortunately there is no speculative recourse to uncertain information.

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\*In: "Kirche im Sozialismus" [Church in Socialism] No 1/1981, p 36; a summary of Daehn's themes under the title "Learning Processes. Development of the SED Church Policy," loc. cit., Vol 5/1981, pp 31-42; also H. Daehn, "Das Verhaeltnis von Staat und Kirche in der SBZ/DDR" [The Relationship of State and Church in the SOZ/GDR] in: The 10th SED Party Congress...14th session on the standing of GDR research, DA edition, Cologne 1981, pp 173-184.

This justified praise, however, is not completely applicable for the chapter on the Catholic Church, probably not least because "the author was unfortunately not allowed to analyze the information in the archives of the West Berlin diocese" (p 172). He could, of course, have been helped along by an analysis of articles in the Germany Archives as well as the--to be considered less scientific, to be sure--"Information and Reports" of the Encounter House in Koenigstein and the "Information Service of the Catholic Working Group for Contemporary Historical Questions" in Bonn. In general, however, there are only minor points to take exception to: there are not two but three Catholic church newspapers (p 251), namely, KATOLSKI POSOL intended for the Sorbs; among the church jurisdiction districts is also Erfurt (is missing on page 175), which is noted at another point, today Erfurt-Meiningen. And when one speaks of the important pastoral synod of the church jurisdiction districts of the GDR, then one should also take note of the documentary volume "Konzil und Diaspora. Die Beschluesse der Pastoralynode der Katholischen Kirche in der DDR" [Council and Diaspora. The Decisions of the Pastoral Synod of the Catholic Church in the GDR] (Berlin, no date, but also Leipzig 1977) (beginning at page 182); this volume is also available in this country. And in the list of abbreviations (p 282), it should be "Action Group Halle" and not "Working Group." The Cordier Publishing House in Heiligenstadt is no longer to be designated the second independent Catholic publishing house, but is so closely connected with the St. Benno Publishing House in Leipzig that only the latter should properly be named. Continuing the comments, here it should be mentioned that since September 1982 the Berlin bishop is indeed again chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, in which all Catholic bishops of the GDR are assembled (p 175): J. Meisner, head of a Permanent Council, to which the bishops in Schwerin and Erfurt-Meiningen belong, that is, H. Theissing and J. Wanke, respectively.

It is quite correctly pointed out that the Catholic Church, as opposed to the Evangelical Church, approaches "the state decision-makers" and states "its position in public only when the rights of the church and the believers are put at a disadvantage through state action or neglect" (p 173). On the part of the Catholics, then, to this day there is a "continuing political abstinence, that is, a noncommittal attitude in regard to politically relevant subjects, such as securing peace in Europe, arms control, disarmament and others," for "the concepts of religious welfare and charity denote the central areas of church activity" (p 176). Here, however, changes have begun to appear since the publication of Daehn's work, which is shown, for example, by the pastoral word of the GDR bishops on peace.\*

To be sure, these remarks should in no way diminish the fact that this book by Horst Daehn is easily the most important publication on the subject in a number of years. Certainly questions are left open, certainly one is challenged to take a critical position, but no one wanting to do future work on the subject

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\*Text: Germany Archives Vol 16, 1983, pp 326-329; also compare K. Richter, "Veraenderte Haltung der DDR-Katholiken" [Changed Attitude of DDR Catholics], loc. cit., pp 454-458.

of state and church in the GDR will be able to avoid this publication. It also offers a solid basis for a still unwritten scientific treatise on the relationship between the GDR state and the Catholic Church.

9746

CSO: 2300/347



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIVIL DEFENSE CONSTRUCTION TRAINING PROGRAM DESCRIBED

East Berlin SCHUTZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3, No 3 1983 (signed to press 16 Mar 83) p 12

[Article by Dr Klaus Zander, deputy director at the Institute for Training and Advanced Training in the Construction Industry: "On Career Specialist Civil Defense Training in the Construction Industry"]

[Text] In a joint endeavor with all working people and citizens, the people in the GDR construction industry have, through their accomplishments, made enormous contributions to the development of our country. To a decisive degree the image and reputation of our state are marked by the housing construction program, the most visible demonstration of the unity of economic and social policy.

Together With the Profession Acquiring Abilities to Protect Achievements

In conformity with the Ministry for Construction Industry, basic policies were developed to implement career specialist civil defense training (BZVA); in these BZVA is to be understood as a solid component of technical and social science fields and subject areas. The substantive specifications of the basic program for BZVA are set forth in the policies, demanding a high level of educational effectiveness of training and advanced training measures.

BZVA must make it possible for the cadres in the construction industry to protect life and material values under all possible conditions. The people in the construction industry must be in a position in their practical activity to apply creatively the career specialist civil defense knowledge which they have acquired. As the future managers of collectives they are supposed to organize protection of the working people from damages and catastrophes and from the effects of weapons and must be in a position to lead their collective in an appropriate manner.

Thus, key points for transmitting knowledge which is in keeping with the requirements and for the development of abilities in the civil defense sector depend on

--the treatment of architectural, architectural engineering and economic policies for preparation, planning and implementation of measures for construction-based protection;



--the development of structural and technological designs for construction-based measures to protect the people and to get production plants, facilities and transport facilities back into operation;  
--the appropriate technical implementation of urgent rescue work, salvage operations and repairs;  
--the rapid and consistent introduction and implementation of measures in the event of damages and catastrophes.

#### Civil Defense Training--A Solid Component of All Training and Advanced Training Measures

In keeping with the new conditions, the documents required for BZVA were revised by the Institute for Training and Advanced Training in the Construction Industry in cooperation with the Ministry for Construction Industry and the GDR Academy of Construction and were made available to the educational institutions in improved form. The basic instructional programs for BZVA in advanced school and engineering education in the construction industry guarantee the integration of career specialist civil defense training into overall training. The programs contain binding substantive and scheduled assignment of the BZVA topics to the individual subject areas.

For the shaping of BZVA, which is uniform in content and organization, in the training of apprentices all educational facilities in the construction industry have "Methods Instruction for Civil Defense." This material contains a detailed introduction into the work of the teachers.

In addition to the literature which is generally available, special literature and instructional materials which were adapted to the basic instructional programs were developed under the direction of the Institute for Training and Advanced Training to support the work of the teachers in the schools of the construction industry. Mention will be made here only of "Measures to Increase the Steadfastness of Enterprises" and a folio series "Protective Structures Which Can be Built Quickly" (16 folios) and the slide series "Protective Structures Which Can Be Built Quickly." The last mentioned visuals were developed in close cooperation with the GDR's construction combines.

In the technical instructional books reference is made at the appropriate places to civil defense. In order to support the teachers and to control the implementation of the measures which have been devised, BZVA is basically a matter for advanced training facilities. Beyond that, at present special consultation centers are coming into being at individual educational facilities.

12124  
CSO: 2300/350

## HUNGARY

### LOCAL EMPLOYMENT OFFICES PLANNED TO IMPROVE MANPOWER DISTRIBUTION

Budapest FIGELO in Hungarian 28 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by Dezso Vass: "In the Service of Manpower"]

[Text] Some progress has been made in area manpower management. The inventory of means has been expanded by service-type manpower employment offices. Fortunately we are not speaking of some kind of campaign and we are not expecting miracles. The essence of the matter is that a broad-scale exchange of information is being realized among state, employers and employees. All this can ease placement difficulties wherever and for whomever such problems exist; it can help in the quality satisfaction of manpower demands and make it possible for the state administration to observe daily the prevailing development of employment.

Let us confess that manpower employment offices is a term that does not sound good. It calls to mind those times when the danger of unemployment threatened or times of compulsory manpower management. We had various examples of both in our postwar life. After 1945 the purpose of the first manpower employment office decree was to organize manpower for the reconstruction of the ruined country and to avoid unemployment. The offices were conducted at the time by a committee consisting of employers and employees. At the beginning of the 1950's quitting a job without permission amounted to an actual act of sabotage which the employment office applied sanctions against. But a subsequent and often repeated intention also became obvious of disallowing any fluctuation that was regarded as excessive. After the counter-revolution the office was introduced primarily to avoid unemployment. With the unfolding of extensive development everyone could rapidly obtain work, although in the first half of the 1960's there were still lines at a number of employment agencies.

#### Erroneous Beliefs

The 1967 modification of the Labor Code and the dissolution of compulsory work ties started a new wave in manpower mobility. The apparently ungovernable fluctuation led the megyes, one after the other, to introduce compulsory manpower employment offices on basis of guidelines issued by the Ministry of Labor. Between 1976 and 1980 a unified decree regulated compulsory manpower employment offices because at that time it was the outlook of the central

management that (large-scale) fluctuation was harmful, it had to be checked, and manpower had to be managed according to priorities appropriate to the interests of the economy. And since this concept did not meet the test of practice, the revised outlook is at the same time the basis of the present concept of a manpower service agency. It has been proved that fluctuation is necessary because this can help economic structural change from "the manpower aspect." Moreover, it became evident that the concept of economic interests could not be operated in such a way as to be a criterion for the moving of manpower. Of course, it does not follow from this that it is impossible at times to establish specific priorities; or that specific sub-branch and area interest relations would not distort the realization of the above-mentioned criterion.

Finally, the lessons that are still valid today were conceptualized: the mobility of manpower must be promoted; management cannot be solved by administrative means, this rests primarily on the mutual coordination of interests between the employee and the employer.

With the termination of compulsory manpower employment offices, some council views were expressed to the effect that "this means, too, is lost to our hand." And we cannot deal with this observation as some kind of "bureaucratic reflex." As representatives of the state, the councils are responsible for full employment. They must know and to some extent manage employment relations according to area interests. For doing all this, they have no means that can be used in a direct way or over the short term. The "strength" of the councils is latent basically in their relations to the economic units. By respecting the independence of the enterprises, they seek to orient their development--in final analysis the work place production--on the basis of common interests. In such give-and-take relations, it was in the time of compulsory employment offices a "trump" in the hands of the council that it could offer an advantage to the enterprise with favorable categorization. In such sense, the employment office was a means, a kind of "exchange means."

#### Precise Information

The other thread of our line of thought approaches the establishment of manpower service offices from the aspect of area relations and council and enterprise interests. It appears obvious that in addition to the general requirement for promoting many-sided mobility, the office must express council and enterprise interests if it wants to be viable. Since the councils maintain the offices, they must be the first "to take a step." The first step in fact was the establishment of manpower service offices and the creation of the personal and objective conditions. On the basis of the ABMH [expansion unknown] recommendation it was the labor administrative organs that everywhere had to persuade the megye leaders of the necessity for the offices.

The offices were not established according to centrally determined answers, rather they seek to establish their scope of activity by adjusting to local characteristics. I must mention here that in the future a certain unification will become necessary, and primarily because of the development of an appropriate information system. It is essential, to be sure, that an exact

up-to-date picture should be available of the prevailing employment situation. It was to this end that the ABMH introduced several noteworthy data-supply obligations. At present the enterprises must report annually on their employment intentions--in this regard see the most recent analysis in the FIGYELO 1983/...--and most recently on possible work places for those starting their first job. Of similar importance are statistics based on employment data by which the reported monthly manpower demand or the number of those searching for jobs comes to light. The above-listed statistics not only make the work of the ABMH substantially more operative, but also clarify the vision of the megyes (cities).

The basic activity of the offices must continue to be employment which, however, must be enhanced by new forms given the additional information. It must be assumed that the special employee sub-classes and special employer or employment forms will be emphasized. In these categories the employment tensions have already become more strained, or may become so. Here I will only mention the problems of the part-time and cottage workers, the former limitations on pensioners, the problems of those entering on their first job. The working-time base is also increased by the fact we are trying to assure appropriate work for every sub-class. There is increased interest in the more flexible employment forms, which are frequently income supplemental. The discovery of these possibilities and job opportunities awaits the work of the manpower service offices.

#### Service Possibilities

The manpower service office also undertakes "group employment." Here we might include the organization and coordination of manpower redeployment or the "loaning out" of workers. None of these forms is as yet characteristic. The idea of capacity exchanges has also risen in a number of places. There is a certain rationality to this if we consider that it is generally simpler to transfer the work to be performed than the manpower.

After the quantitative and qualitative development of cadres, the offices may also undertake additional organization, counseling and information tasks. As an example, study courses may be organized for the workers of some enterprises, if there is a demand. Smaller economic units and sites that are at a distance from the center may also receive labor affairs (labor rights) experts from the offices. Career orientation and remedial advice may also provide help, for people do not often reveal at their place of work that they may want to change their employment.

The offices can meet their outlined tasks only if they are able to become some kind of labor information centers. Without regular relations and exchange of information with schools, economic units or employers, they will fail. All this is closely related to information dissemination possibilities, with their own familiarity, and with their ability to collect and evaluate job announcements and have them reported in the press. The present phase is decisive for the offices. They can survive and realize themselves only if they are able to offer something rapidly and primarily to have themselves accepted. But their success does not depend only on themselves. A great deal also



depends on the attitude of the enterprises. The enterprises are not interested in the introduction of flexible employment forms, or in loaning out workers. Enterprise attitudes, including management and establishment of work places with manpower, are also shaped by economic policy and economic regulation. To accelerate the progressive processes that may be hoped for in this way, the manpower service offices are useful, assuming that their information is accurate and can be put consistently into the service of the manpower market.

6691

CSO: 2500/381

HANAK EXAMINES ETHNICITY, NATIONALISM

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 18 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Peter Hanak: "Tracing the Steps of National Identity"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Even as a foreigner or an outside observer, one could say something valid about the origin of national identity and its peculiar substance. But it is difficult to comprehend that which is rationally incomprehensible, even with sophisticated perceptive capabilities; it is difficult to hear what ancient superstitions say to and about a people. Nor is it easier to approach the origins of national identity and its special texture from within, as a member of the community. Even in the case of enormous erudition and the resolute capacity for objectivity, it is not always possible to separate the inquiring consciousness from innate preconceptions and to isolate it from the influence of old superstitions. For an internal approach to succeed and be scientifically valid about our national identity, perhaps more important than factual knowledge and objectivity is the necessity of having the courage to face our own destiny. As an example of objective, comprehensive and courageous approaches, I might mention /Janos Varga's/ recently published book entitled /Hungary in Search of Its Place/, about the political ideas of the 1840's and the genesis of Hungarian bourgeois national identity.

The Hungarian national identity and concept of nation--allow me, in agreement with Varga, to use the concept of /nationalism/ in its original sense, which is free of the negative connotations associated with it--was much more the product of the French Revolution than of German Romanticism; it was born under the constellation of /freedom/ and /equality/. Freedom did not mean the heroicism of the past, but rather an economic and political program for the present and the future. In contrast to the leading ecclesiastical and intellectual strata of other neighboring peoples, the Hungarian landed nobility very precisely and concretely determined the economic and political criteria of freedom. Kolcsey summarized the common binding interests to the homeland in two words: "freedom and property", to which Deak only added: "/bourgeois/ property and /personal/ freedom", and Kossuth's version was: "free land and free people". This program included the elimination of feudal property relations and privileges, equality before the law, general and proportionate taxation, the new interpretation of the nation and--in the words of Kossuth-- its unity "in law and freedom, not in servitude". Also inherent in it was the concept of bourgeois national /sovereignty/.

extended to the people.

In this concrete historical sense, the elimination of feudal privileges and bondage was in harmony with equality, and this in turn, with the building of the nation. Social reform and national unity did not thwart each other, but rather were mutually supportive. In reality, of course, freedom, equality and national harmony did not exist undisturbed, even during the glorious decades of the age of reform. Eotvos would write about the deeper conflicts of principle in one of the fundamental works in Hungarian political science a decade /after/ the revolution. The specific conflicts and the problems peculiar to Hungary were already discernible in the 1840's. In our country, the privileged estate, the nobility, had to replace its own rule with bourgeois legal equality.

One of the essential points of Janos Varga's book is that Hungarian national identity was born and grew amidst extremely complicated social and political circumstances, under a set of conditions which thwarted each other and which were, at times, even mutually exclusive. The liberal reformers felt and understood the problems and unsettling factors, but they believed in the omnipotence of enlightened rationalism, in probabilities and illusions.

The contradiction that the Hungarian nation was not built from "below" by the third estate which constituted itself into a nation as a revolutionary gesture, but instead that it was extended to the people from "above" seemed to be solvable in the liberal environment. Free land, free economy, bourgeois human rights, in truth, raised a large segment of the peasantry to bourgeois status and the national community of interests could have participated and assumed responsibility for these if the leading noble stratum would have continued to participate in and cultivate the liberal evolution. The possibility of a similar integration in peoples of other ethnicities and languages seemed far less probable. In fact, that the non-Magyar peoples would become the majority on the basis of freedom and legal equality and that then they too would demand a national existence and independence was precisely the problem that concerned the generation of reformers. On this point, the liberals fostered a dual illusion. They tried to convince themselves and the world that only one historically developed nation possessing /historical title to the law/ existed in the country--the Magyar, and the rest were merely language communities existing without national character or identity. Secondly, they believed that individual civil rights would create a community of interest among the citizens of any language group in the country, and that freedom would be stronger than nationality. Yes, they believed in this, but did not trust in it.

The statistical data and the proliferation of facts concerning the growing consciousness of the nationalities spoke for themselves. The majority of the bourgeois middle class, mainly the most dynamic business and artisan elements, were German and Jewish; the larger part of the approximately 9 million serfs were likewise non-Magyar, but Slovakian, Rumanian, Ruthenian, Serbian and German. From these numbers, it was not difficult to conclude that if the right of ownership and legal equality were to take effect, the Magyar nationality would be weakened, and the majority would be Slav and Rumanian. The Magyar liberals were confronted by a true dilemma, because the age demanded progress, modernization and the achievement of bourgeois status. Without it, the country, oppressed by feudal privileges and Viennese absolutism, would hopelessly

sink into the mire of backwardness, would deteriorate and be lost. However, the other imperative of the age was to develop and reorganize the nationalities; in the words of Kossuth, "This is the guiding characteristic of our century", and "the future" of a nation not comprehending this "will be absorption, the yoke and servitude".

Thus, the age passed a dual imperative to the generation of reformers. If they promote the achievement of bourgeois status on the basis of liberal ideas, their nationality would suffer the consequences; however, if they renounce the liberal program, and progress, the nation would also perish as a result. To their credit, let it be said that the Magyar reformers wished to solve this historical dilemma not by abandoning the liberal principles and program, but by some sort of compromise between freedom and the demands of the nationalities. They sought the solution in the Magyarization of public life and hoped for the gradual assimilation of the nationalities by way of their Magyar-language schooling and cultivation. Kossuth believed that above all else, the cultured "middle class" must be Magyarized, so that there not be a constant need to affirm that the new middle class "must be Magyar and cannot be anything else".

If we credit the generation of reformers for remaining faithful to the broad-based liberal program despite the stubborn resistance of the conservative camp and the narrow-minded, right-depriving Magyarizers, let it be to the credit of Janos Varga that the dynamic ideals of national development and bourgeois transformation of Magyar nationalism do not mask the nuances of conquest and oppression inherent in the nature of nationalism in his eyes. And there would be dozens of excuses--and, perhaps, motives: anxiety for the survival of the nation, oppression within the Monarchy, endangerment in the East Central European region, the conquests of other contemporary nations; or examples from the 20th century: the many frightening facts concerning the conduct of nationality policies in our age. Varga, however, shows with relentless consistency that although Magyar nationalism advocated human rights, by restricting the native culture of the nationalities, it deprived them of human rights. Although, with regard to themselves, they perceived the achievement of nationhood as a historical command, they neither perceived nor acknowledged the unilateral nature of the process in the case of the country's nationalities.

Instead of the "expected" enhancement of Magyarization and patriotism in common, the result was that the country's non-Magyar nationalities which were developing into nations became strengthened in the struggle for existence against Magyar oppression and in the anti-Magyarism of their budding national awareness. Instead of unity and strength, there was division and internecine antagonism, and the condemnation of the nationality policy of the leading classes on the important forums of European public opinion. Although it was true that the nationalism of the cohabiting peoples fueled and intensified one another in a reciprocal chain reaction, nevertheless--Janos Varga concludes--greater responsibility should be borne by the Magyars, even if historical destiny and the objective circumstances necessarily "allotted them the role of initiator and aggressor".

But should everything be attributed to nationalism? Was it merely fresh, romantic nationalism which blinded the ethical and thinking reformers who had a European outlook and great learning, from Kolcsey and Wesselenyi to Kossuth, Deak and Eotvos? Janos Varga asks, "Could they have been so blind as to not see that their impatient



and excessive nationalism deprived others of their rights? Or was it really just national prejudice and the desire for power which motivated them, as their opponents claim?"

By raising this question, he has already overstepped the bounds of an outside observer or the judgments of a boasting posterity with the wisdom of /hindsight/. He does pass judgment on the liberal reformers, but only /from within/, because he deeply understands their thinking and the mainsprings of their actions. He clearly shows that it was not inflated self-confidence nor conceited arrogance and the unrestrained thirst for power, but rather, fear and anxiety which suggested their plans and motivated their actions. The birth of Magyar national identity was accompanied by the shadow of anxiety lurking behind the winged genius of freedom.

The liberal reformers understood the country's miserable situation and the division of its society, the backwardness of the majority of the nobility, the close dependence of the aristocracy on the government and that of the lesser nobility on the magnates. So when Metternich began to maneuver with tiny reforms and the division of the nationalities, they could legitimately fear that absolutism would enlist the peasantry who were faithful to the emperor, the Croats of the annexed provinces and the Serbs and Rumanians of the military frontiers. It is not without basis that the modernization of the domain within the framework of absolutism presented them with the horrifying spectacle of the country sinking to the status of a province and the withering of the nation.

In all certainty, these anxieties would have moderated the radicalism of even the greatest reform tendencies. No matter what faults and sins the nobility has, wrote Wesselenyi, the nation nevertheless lives within and rests on them. For this reason, there is need for caution and "for the intelligent treatment of the nationalities towards the nobility and of the nobility towards the nationalities." This anxiety is connected to the nobility's dilemma of bourgeois transformation. The liberals reasoned that if the bourgeois transformation were to ruin the nobility and along with it, its nationality, then all would be lost. Therefore, they were not satisfied with political and ideological bourgeois transformation by the nobility, but rather, they encouraged the personal participation and the /bourgeois transformation/ of the landed nobility and intellectuals toward the modernization of the economy and enterprise in the areas of trade and transportation and industrial establishments. However, an ancient visceral aversion to market competition, "bargaining" and waiting on the common public existed in the landed nobility, who was accustomed to directed and being waited on by their servants and to power. The question which arose as a conditioned reflex in the nobleman throughout the centuries of feudalism immediately appeared: Does business befit the Magyar? This may also be interpreted as: /Is aristocratic Virtus compatible with bourgeois Virtue?/

It is probable that the internal contradictions of liberalism and nationalism, subordination within the Monarchy, the problem of bourgeois transformation and the anguish of an inviting yet terrible change would have been milder and more solvable in a free and independent country. Naturally, independence was also the heart's desire of the generation of reformers and a rationally supported ideal. In the 1840's, they framed the demands for constitutional independence in a contemporary form: a parliamentary system based on the representation of the people, responsible

government, free disposition over the country's human and financial resources-- within the framework of the Hapsburg Monarchy.

Why did they not strive for the total independence of the state, or if they did, why was it not articulated? With detailed analysis and assurance, Janos Varga touches on one of the most sensitive painful areas, the deepest anxiety choking the desires of the heart and reasoning of the mind: the /sense of danger/ stemming from the recognition of the international situation.

During the Napoleonic Wars, the patriots contemplating the fate of the country took notice of the changing relation of power in Central and Eastern Europe, and then in the 30's, after the suppression of the French July Revolution, the Italian and Polish struggles for freedom and the formation of the German Customs Union, they suddenly realized the dangers inherent in the aspirations of German nationalism towards the east and of /Panslavism/, the tenacious westward expansion of Czarism. In case they were not sufficiently attentive, they were warned by /Herder's/ gloomy prediction of the Magyar dissolution in the Slavic sea, or by /Wolfgang Berg's/ pamphlet /(*Ungarns Politische Zukunft*)/ published precisely in 1842 in which the author presumed to see that "Hungary, whose land is littered with blood and corpses, would either become a Russian province or a German colony." How could the liberals not have felt the perceptibly growing dangers? As quoted in the /*Pesti Hirlap*/, "either the grim Eastern wind" will paralyze the Magyars, or "the warm Western breeze" will dissolve them.

It was dangerous to conduct national reform policies in this area and situation. Janos Varga writes in a dramatic vein which is true to the age, "Fear gripped the hearts of the liberals; they felt themselves and their nation surrounded from both within and without...They feverishly sought a way out of the noose in which they found themselves because of their convictions." The instinct for survival dictated that they sever those bonds which tied the country's Slavic peoples to the great patron, the Czarist regime, and to closely merge them with the Magyars. Thus, the motive for Magyarization was in part /self-defense/ in response to danger, even if this excuse was justified neither by the idea of freedom nor the practical circumstances. But that the danger was real and directly threatening was proven by the Czarist intervention in 1849 and later by the brutal, bloody suppression of the Polish struggle for freedom one and a half decades later.

What realistic barriers were available against the threat of reaction from within and without, against absolutism, conquest and absorption? There remained one reality for bourgeois Hungary searching for its place, no matter how uncertain, uncomfortable and unpalatable a pillar it was: the Monarchy--the constitutional, bourgeois Monarchy. By illuminating the hearts and minds of the liberals, Janos Varga reveals that they too thought that the ideal framework for national development was within the independent state. But they increasingly realized that in the Slavic sea and within the sphere of interests of German nationalism, at the point of impact between the two powers, Hungary alone could hardly have achieved and preserved her independence or only in such a restricted way, that ultimately only a shadow of independence would be gained.

Thus, the bitter attitude of Ban Petru, the fascination of Zrinyi and Rakoczi and the mounds of graves and recriminations faithfully preserved for posterity were all

in vain; sober minds and interests pointed to the Monarchy as the form of national life and within it, the basis for /relative/ independence and compromise. "Not so, my lords", retorted Kossuth to the German doomsayers. "There is a third alternative" to a Russian province or a German colony: "the independent state between two immense tribes". By this, he too meant independence within the Monarchy, and when he no longer meant this, history firmly had them understand that "the European bourgeois transformation" respected the interests and relations of power, and not constitutionality and the rights of nationalities.

It was not a rich and strong bourgeoisie which forged Magyar national identity through the struggle for independence in a country which was ethnically relatively homogeneous, but the nobility struggling with the dilemma of its own bourgeois transformation. This occurred in the zone where competing power ambitions clashed with one another on the boundary between East and West, in this ethnically very diverse region where the threads of self-defense and self-centeredness were inextricably intertwined. Freedom and equality were the parents of youthful nationalism, which it both exalted and feared: it feared for its reason for existence, the nationality itself.

Like all nationalism, the Magyar strove for total sovereignty, but also feared it; it feared the goal, independence itself. What a consuming agony to base a program of revolutionary transformation and the life of a nation on half-freedoms and quasi-independence! The internal contradictions, anguishes and disturbances of Magyar nationalism could be traced to the very beginning and did not originate in either dualism or compromise. In order to solve these conflicts of awareness, Janos Varga suggests that we return to the beginning with a disciplined, objective examination of the past, to the turning point where the nation again searches for its place on the boundary between East and West in the ethnically intertwined region, in a ceaselessly changing world.

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NEPSZABADSAG SCORES DOMESTIC REVIEW OF EMIGRE PERIODICAL IN FRG

AU101627 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 5 August on page 7 carries a 1,350-word Pal. E. Feher article, entitled "Unbridgeable for the Time Being?" which criticizes a Bela Pomogats article in the June issue of OUR LANGUAGE AND OUR CULTURE, a periodical published for Hungarians abroad by the "Hungarian Language Conference Sponsorship." In his article, Pomogats "impartially" describes NEW HORIZON [UJ LATOHATAR], a Hungarian-language periodical published in Munich in the FRG.

Feher takes issue with certain remarks made by Pomogats in describing NEW HORIZON, including the statement he cites by "author Miklos Beladi" that "the periodical does not conduct an intellectual and political campaign against Hungary, but regards it as one of its primary tasks to express a separate opinion and to correct and to lean toward a third way." He also criticizes Pomogats' "amplification" of the above to the effect that "despite the prevailing and for the time being insurmountable differences of views, the subject matter of the literary works and studies in NEW HORIZON contains numerous things of value we must consider as part of universal Hungarian culture."

Feher faults Pomogats for failing to clarify what he meant by "for the time being," "separate opinion," and "correction," as well as for not mentioning a pamphlet by NEW HORIZON publisher Jozsef Molnar, published in OUR LANGUAGE AND OUR CULTURE in 1978, in which Molnar, "attacked Miklos Beladi and abused Dezso Keresztury," or another statement by Molnar calling NEW HORIZON the "sole free forum of Hungarian literature" at one time. Feher asks: "Could this be true? Would this be the separate opinion and correction we are supposed to respect? Could that periodical have been the sole free forum that was created by defectors who left Hungary to go to the West, consisting, almost without exception, of people who oppose the new social system or who have been previously compromised?"

Feher cites and criticizes in detail remarks made by Laszlo Cs. Szabo, a "leading associate of NEW HORIZON"; Istvan Borsody "from Pittsburgh"; the "otherwise significant writer" Gyozo Hatar; Bela Varga; Peter Kende "from Paris"; and Gyula Borbandi. Questioning NEW HORIZON's objectivity, he says: "With few exceptions, all of its staff members can be heard regularly on Radio Free Europe's wavelength. Concord manifests itself not only with regard to persons,



a joint team of associates, but also in the fact that NEW HORIZON frequently publishes programs that have been broadcast on Radio Free Europe--which are, of course, sharply anticommunist and anti-Soviet--without editorially dissociating itself from them."

Feher admits that since its inception NEW HORIZON has published "a number of interesting and high-quality works"; that, "in general," it publishes "dissenting views on conditions in Hungary," with "more moderation and in a more sophisticated formulation" than most emigre papers; that, "in some cases," it publishes "good and accurate analyses of literary works from Hungary"; and that some of its contributors have had their works published within the country, a goal the Hungarians have been striving for: to become familiar with the valuable creative talents of Hungarian writers living abroad. However, Feher continues, "what right has Pomogats to conceal that, at other times, it is extremely biased, primarily, of course, toward those who profess a socialist, a Marxist world outlook? Why does he keep bashfully silent about NEW HORIZON's political countenance? Why does he not point to the numerous examples that reveal that NEW HORIZON time and again violates its haughtily proclaimed objectivity? That is not impartiality. NEW HORIZON truly does express a 'separate opinion,' and if we review it, one must say what the nature of these 'separate views' is like."

Feher concludes that the "pseudo-impartiality" of OUR LANGUAGE AND OUR CULTURE "is useless," because the Hungarians living in the West know, anyway, what NEW HORIZON represents. "It would be difficult to make them believe what Pomogats claims."

CSO: 2500/403

BIOGRAPHY OF KADAR, ANTI-SEMITISM VIEWED BY SWEDISH REPORTER

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Jul 83 p 12

[Article by Disa Hastad]

[Text] The 1956 revolt is still a wound in the Hungarian social body. But party leader Janos Kadar, who went over to the Russians and had thousands of opponents hanged, has gradually been transformed from a traitor into something like the father of his country.

Jozsef Palfy, editor in chief of MAGYARORSZAG, says: "Believe me, if the government we had in November 1956 had been allowed to continue, it would have turned fascist after only a few months. Hungary would have become another Chile."

The government to which he was referring was the coalition government formed by Imre Nagy after the latter, by general request, had been named prime minister during the Budapest revolt in October 1956. The old Stalinist Matyas Rakosi had been forced to leave the country. Nagy was an old Communist who had spent many years in exile in Moscow. His first period in office (in 1953) had brought liberalizations that had quickly made him popular.

In 1956 he tried to check the most zealous, but he invited representatives of other parties to enter the government, and together with Pal Maleter, his minister of defense, he announced that Hungary had withdrawn from the Warsaw Pact.

Hanged

A few days later, Soviet tanks again entered Budapest's streets. And along with Pal Maleter, Imre Nagy, who had sought asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy, was hanged in Budapest's main prison on 16 June 1958 following a trial behind closed doors.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of that event, but it is not being noted in Hungary. There are no indications that Nagy and Maleter will be rehabilitated, and their graves are still unmarked.

People in Budapest say privately: "Janos Kadar is still frightened by blood-guilt."

Some think that Kadar may feel real guilt. Perhaps it has been branded into him that he caused their deaths--if it is true (as Sandor Kopacsi, who was minister of police in 1956, says in his memoirs, which were published in the West) that Kadar was in fact compelled to witness the executions of Nagy and Maleter and of Laszlo Rajk before that (he had succeeded Rajk as minister of interior in 1949). According to Kopacsi, Rajk had cried out at the moment of death:

"You tricked me, Janos!"

But if Kadar had betrayed Rajk that time, his own fateful hour was to arrive just a few years later: the Rakosi regime imprisoned him as an "agent," and in prison he was tortured in the most shameful way. When he was released in 1954, he had no teeth left, and his skin had been torn off in some places.

On 1 November 1956, Janos Kadar delivered a speech on radio as newly named party leader. In it he defended Imre Nagy's government. Four days later, Kadar went over to the Russians and was given the job of purging the country. A good many people were imprisoned, and several thousand were hanged.

Today in Hungary, Janos Kadar is the father of his country. As a result of his skill at maneuvering, his compromises on both domestic and foreign issues, his moderation, and his personal unpretentiousness, he has won most people over. Kadar has not been tempted to become an emperor like Ceaucescu. He is not even seduced by luxury automobiles the way Brezhnev was.

On the contrary, he lives simply and grows chickens at home. He eats 150 grams of meat or sausage every day (a habit regarded as Spartan in Hungary).

The above information appears in a recently published biography of Kadar entitled "Portrait With Historical Background." It was written by Gen Laszlo Gyurko, who himself was among those imprisoned after 1956.

#### Bestseller

But the book, which is a bestseller in Hungary, is short on information beyond the above-mentioned details. Nothing is said about Kadar's childhood and adolescence, and there are big gaps in the account of Kadar's life during the 1930's--it was he who became leader of the underground Communist Party in 1933 (while the other Communists were in Moscow).

A critic in the underground periodical BESZELO--Pal Ada (that may be a pseudonym for someone who is well-informed)--writes about the book that it does not provide any explanations concerning key questions: why did Kadar break with Nagy? What happened when the Warsaw Pact decided to enter Czechoslovakia in 1968? How did Kadar feel when he had to get rid of a number of faithful collaborators? And what role does Kadar play in the decisions on economic reforms: why was he against them in 1957 but for them in 1965, and why was the reform policy halted in 1973 only to be resumed in 1978? Critic Ada also comments on Gyurko's definition of "Kadarism"--adjusting enforcement of the constitution so that there is harmony between "realistic" and "unrealistic" demands. What that

means, says Pal Ada, is that since we forced to build socialism anyhow, it might as well be bearable for most people.

Pal Ada explains the book's success by the fact that since so little information is available in Hungary, any book at all that talks about Imre Nagy's personality, the Rajk trial, and Rakosi's time can count on attracting huge interest.

#### A Sore Spot: 1956

There is one political innovation in Gyurko's book, however: the events of 1956 are no longer called "a planned counterrevolution," which has been the standard wording otherwise in Hungary.

But the wounds are deep, and the path to genuine reconciliation is a long one. This is illustrated by the official editor in chief's opinion of the Nagy government: "a breeding ground for fascism."

Is there any truth in that?

The country had a fascist government as recently as 1944-1945, and in the fall of 1956, several forces other than democratic ones were in motion. After all, Hungarians were shooting at each other in the streets of Budapest, and people were being hanged from lampposts--although those who hanged them said that those they hanged were not people but security police.

The fate of Jews in Hungary is now being discussed in the country. Despite everything, quite a few survived thanks to Raoul Wallenberg and other rescuers. Wallenberg's name could be mentioned only in whispers in 1968. Now people can say it out loud. But a Jewish woman friend says she does not feel safe: she feels that what happened before can happen again.

It is said that young people are now returning to Jewish traditions and that some families celebrate the Sabbath. And this summer the Ethnographic Museum has an exhibit on "Jewish traditions in Hungary." There are glossy color pictures showing prayers, Passover, circumcision, weddings, and so on. If my friend had not recognized a certain Uncle Joska among those shown praying, we probably would have doubted that the pictures really came from here--the exhibit was so anonymous and so free of any complications and any hint of what had happened to the Jews in Hungary.

#### From Auschwitz

With numbers from Auschwitz branded on their arms, my friend's aunts go to their bridge games, and they talk only about their new love affairs in this new and rather prosperous Hungary. They are making up for their lost youth.

Ivan Szelenyi, a sociologist who returned to Hungary after 8 years abroad, says:

"The conservative Communists are articulating their criticism. If they take power after Kadar (and that decision may not depend solely on the Hungarians),



the regime may even stir up the anti-Semitism that has always been latent. Even now I hear people say: 'It is the Jews who have carried out the economic reforms. And they are doing so because they are against the Soviet Union, where people are anti-Semitic. They want Hungary to move closer to the West.'

"Janos Kadar has never played the anti-Semitic card," says Ivan Szelenyi.

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CSO: 3650/250

SOVIET BOOK ON IDEOLOGICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF ARTIST REVIEWED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jul 1983 p 39

[Book review of J. Lukin: "The Artist and his Individual Political Culture." The author has a PhD in philosophy and is responsible for the drafting of numerous CPSU party documents including the materials of the Nov 82 CPSUCC Plenum. Reviewer is L. Z.]

[Text] The author, a doctor of philosophical sciences, discusses the problems in the further development of ideological work on the basis of many new party documents, including materials of the November CPSUCC Plenum and Yuri Andropov's speech on the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Union. He states: "Propaganda programs are not always adequately related to practical tasks, sometimes they violate the unity of theoretical, political, educational and organizational work and do not prevent a divergence from developing between theoretical knowledge and the concrete deeds of a given work place collective. A part of youth is characterized by infantilism and political naivete. This leads to where they develop an outlook regarding the benefits of existing socialism as if these were matters of course. This explains the consumer outlook, parasitism, and practicality." (. . .)

"It is necessary to acknowledge that mass information media--sometimes in pursuit of sensational material, sometimes in hope of gaining more readers, particularly among the youth--examine uncritically certain phenomena of the Western world. Recently, for example, certain press organs published many materials which reviewed uncritically therapeutical methods of hatha yoga and try to distinguish the so-called 'purely sport aspects' of karate. But Zen Buddhism serves as that ideological basis, and yoga is not merely a physical exercise system but a complex teaching regarding the suppression of activity, the emotions and passions, an ideology which is unconditionally far removed from and alien to us."

In a great deal of the article J. Lukin deals with artistic phenomena. He states: "Art and political ideology have been in close relationship with each other in every period of time. As a social consciousness from art and ideology both have a relative independence and the capability of affecting social life. At the same time art not only reflects a given ideology, a way of thinking and a world outlook (. . .) but also has an effect on other forms of social consciousness." In addition to many problems he deals with special emphasis is

on the following: "The manifold connections in the establishment and development of the materialist world outlook, social recognition and historical thinking are still not adequately reflected in artistic creations."

As a matter of fact, in certain works and literary criticism we still meet with a world outlook that is undemanding, an uncritical judgment of present phenomena, the neglect of class criteria, the display of patriarchal relations and such customs and traditions which in essence cannot be harmonized either with our community principles or with the nature of socialist traditions that have developed in the years of Soviet power.

There is a need for ideological firmness, social exactness and the author's clear position particularly where the artist or the critic is depicting the facts of the historical past and the events of the civil war and of collectivization. There is no room here for abstract interpretations of good and bad, for abstract "humanism" and "moralization independent of society." (. . .)

The confusion of class points of view, the neglect of Leninist teaching that in every national culture two cultures are present still leads to where certain publications present the intellectual and artistic process as "a unified current," in which the trends that are in direct confrontation with one another coexist peacefully, as well as works representing opposite cultures--the democratic, the socialist and the bourgeois cultures." (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA April 1983)

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CSO: 2500/378

**MINISTER DEEMS PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES SATISFACTORY**

Budapest NEPSZARADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jul 83 p 5

[Interview with Dr Emil Schultheisz, minister of health, by Kornelia Dolecsko; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] How long do you have to wait in the waiting room? Can the physician on duty be reached quickly? Are there suitable drugs in the pharmacy? Is there room in the welfare home? Is the nurse in the hospital patient? Is a specialist available to repair the medical instruments? How fast is the renovation of old hospital buildings proceeding. So many everyday questions that affect every family, directly or indirectly. For the answers to these questions jointly indicate what our health care is like.

To what extent does health care meet the requirements set for it, and how are the conditions of treatment developing under the present economic conditions, more difficult than previously? These were the questions discussed in an interview with Dr Emil Schultheisz, the minister of health.

[Question] Health care is in the forefront of public attention, perhaps more than ever before. Demand has increased, sometimes even in excess of need. How is the Hungarian health service able to meet this demand?

[Answer] The tasks contained in the 6th Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled commensurately, although with some delay here and there. Our duty is the consistent realization of the socioeconomic program of health care, which serves to expand and improve basic services. According to our conception, basic services include prevention, therapy and rehabilitation. When we are working for the consistent realization of this program, we never start out from how much money that requires. Instead we say that we must prudently and conscientiously achieve the most with the money available to us. There are certain basic conditions without which it would be impossible to work. These basic conditions will never be lacking in Hungary, be they medicine, instruments or other things. There is an optimal level, which we have not achieved everywhere. But between the two there is still the possible that must be utilized. And the more difficult the economic situation, the better we must utilize our professional knowledge and training. Instead of complaining, we have to work. Only in this way will we be able to meet the increasing requirements placed on the health service.



[Question] How are the megyes using the opportunities provided by integration and their greater independence?

[Answer] We still have not translated accurately what integration means. Well, it means that the specialists in the various positions within the health service work in a coordinated manner, with the least duplication, in an atmosphere of trust. A suitable organizational framework must be created so that everyone—from the district physician through the hospital chief physician to the megye chief physician—may work on the basis of definite and concordant information, and in accordance with modern principles. We are now able to say that the unified therapeutical and preventive organizations, the institutions for in- and out-patient care, are in place and that, as a result, also a sound process of decentralization has taken place. The professional and economic unity of the therapeutical institutions and services has evolved. Today the question is already how the megye leaders are availing themselves of the given opportunities. I believe that typically they are able to use their independence. I am pleased to say that development of health care is in the center of the megye councils' attention. If there are problems, for example, in the area of investments, they stem not from the cancellation of planned investments, but from delays and cost overruns in their realization.

[Question] There have been many complaints about investments in health care. We frequently hear that construction is behind schedule, and that the councils are unable to spend the planned allocations.

[Answer] Last year the councils spent about 90 percent of the amount that was available to them. We achieved nearly 100-percent fulfillment on the centrally financed investment projects. On the whole, even though we are not entirely satisfied, it should be pointed out that more than 2000 hospital beds were added to the institutions in two years.

[Question] The overwhelming majority of the megye hospitals and also most Budapest hospitals are undergoing renovation and modernization. If I understood correctly, the problem with hospital renovations at present is that although construction capacity is now available, the councils do not have enough money to spend for this purpose.

[Answer] In 1982, 2.7 billion forints was available for the renovation of medical institutions. The councils spent 98 percent of this amount. In one or two megyes—for example, in Somogy and Mogyoród—the councils transferred also from other sources funds for the renovation of medical institutions. The way we in the ministry see it, we are still far from oversupply in the construction industry and are perhaps now reaching the point where a healthy equilibrium is developing. It is indisputable that if the nation could afford to, it would be good to spend more on fixing up the hospitals, sanatoriums, and the obsolete institutions of health care.

[Question] In recent months we have heard more and more complaints from doctors that the supply of machinery and instruments is bogging down. At some places it has even been said that import restrictions are jeopardizing the replacement of life-saving equipment.

[Answer] So far we have been able to obtain for the hospitals and clinics the most essential equipment even from Western import. It is absolutely untrue

that life-saving equipment is lacking. It is undeniable, however, that in the availability of instruments we are below the desirable level and not where we would like to be. We are making headway in accordance with the plans. But you must remember that there always are unexpected problems; that--to put it crudely--always the least expected instrument is the one to break down. The task is to mobilize the reserves, to utilize existing resources and to make them available to the treating physicians. In the large institutions it is necessary to organize repairs or, if you like, fast repairs. So far as procurement is concerned, we must set priorities. But I must frankly admit that the waiting time is getting longer.

[Question] Turning to another topic, is the ministry supporting the formation of various auxiliary units in the hospitals?

[Answer] Where necessary, we are urging that the maintenance of instruments be solved also by organizing business work partnerships within the hospitals, with the participation of the technical personnel. Such business work partnerships could supplement very well the activity of the few large enterprises that seem unable to perform routine repairs with the required speed and flexibility.

[Question] We often hear that health care workers are performing their duties with such dedication. And that is a fact. Yet settlement of the shift supplement for nurses has been long delayed.

[Answer] The shift supplement for nurses working in three shifts will be settled in January. The shift supplement will enable us to provide better pay than at present for this highly skilled yet strenuous work during the afternoon and night shifts. At the institutions where the supplement for working the night shift is below 40 percent at present, we will raise it to that level.

[Question] Thus nurses will foreseeably become blue-collar workers as of the first of the year?

[Answer] Yes. Nurses caring for patients will be reclassified as blue-collar workers. However, introduction of the shift supplement will affect not only them, but also hospital workers in other assignments to whom we have been unable to pay up to now the shift supplements that are customary in the national economy. I think we are making some progress in this respect, although only in small steps.

[Question] When will the issue of duty pay be settled? How much will be the mandatory increase, and how much differentiation will it permit?

[Answer] We are now planning the modification of duty pay. The essence of the proposal will be the introduction of minimum and maximum pay also here. We expect the lower limit of duty pay to be the equal to the present duty pay; and the upper limit, twice the present amount. We are thinking of prescribing a mandatory 50-percent increase of duty pay for central district duty. We would like to achieve that the setting of duty pay be differentiated in accordance with the work performed. We do not wish to interfere in the details of setting duty pay, because we here in the ministry are unable to determine how difficult duty is of doctors in various assignments and wards.

[Question] Is there any word of revising the workplace bonuses to which many doctors and assistants are entitled?

[Answer] Health service workers now receive workplace bonuses on various grounds. We would like to create order in this matter. I will mention as an example that the bonus for work injurious to health is being paid extensively at present, in addition to other bonuses. We would like this bonus to apply to a limited number of truly dangerous workplaces and to cease to be a wage supplement. The amounts of the workplace bonuses and the health service workers eligible to receive them will be determined locally, with one exception: we will determine centrally the workplace bonuses of nurses who care for patients.

[Question] Will the funds necessary to finance the mentioned wage measures be provided centrally, or will the councils themselves have to raise the money?

[Answer] Foreseeably these wage measures will be financed partially with central grants, and partially financial coverage will have to be provided locally. But these measures cannot be delayed any longer. And we feel that we have the strength necessary to solve them.

[Question] The regulations governing reimbursement of the costs of medicine were modified recently. It will be remembered that this has been solved with zero impact on the state budget, without the need of additional grants. Comrade Minister, do you think that the shortage of drugs will ease as a result?

[Answer] I would not link these two issues. Reimbursement of the costs of medicine has been modified for social considerations, to reduce the medical expenses of the elderly living under the least favorable financial conditions. We find that public opinion has gratefully taken cognizance of this measure.

Periodic shortages of certain drugs are indeed a problem. However, we are taking care to stock basic drugs, and to always ensure substitutes of equal value and efficacy for the drugs that are not available. Doctors who write prescriptions, whether at an institute or in the district, must carefully and circumspectly enlighten their patients that what they have prescribed is just as good, or perhaps even more effective, than the medicine the patients are accustomed to. This, then, is the doctors' first task. Their other task is to peruse the circulars issued by the pharmacy centers and to keep abreast of what the pharmacies are offering. Today no one can be left without the medicine he needs.

[Question] Modification of the regulations governing reimbursement of the costs of medicine, and the present regulation of prescription drugs indicate that the leaders in charge of health care are striving for sharing equitably the public burden of health care. Are similar solutions possible in the area of welfare and nursing?

[Answer] We are studying these problems and surveying the possibilities. Unfortunately, we do not see any reserves at present, primarily organizational reserves, whose mobilization would permit a similar rearrangement of the cost burden, in favor of the more needy strata. Our studies include, for example, the feasibility of establishing nursing homes that would undertake, at near

cost, the care of elderly or invalid relatives of better-off families, for a few weeks or months. I have in mind those who are not seriously ill, merely old. And also those who would gladly pay for the supervision and nursing, but are reluctant to place their relatives in a hospital ward for the chronically ill.

[Question] There has been much talk recently about the establishment of various businesses to provide so-called human services. What is your standpoint regarding such businesses?

[Answer] I start out from the principle that it is a state task to provide medical care, and the citizen's right to receive medical care. So far as human services are concerned—for example, the formation of cooperatives to care for the elderly, and of partnerships to operate day nurseries or to nurse the sick at home—we support such services.

[Question] Is the concern warranted that the elderly whose condition is gradually worsening and who therefore require nursing, but who are not very well off, might be exploited by private entrepreneurs? How can such private entrepreneurs be supervised? And how can limits be set for their operations?

[Answer] There can be no question of our relinquishing the initiative and supervision in this area of welfare care, which affect many people. We will continue the present course of development regarding the elderly, namely: expansion of the bed capacity of welfare homes, expansion of hospital wards for the chronically ill, establishment of day-care homes for the elderly, and organization of care for the elderly at home. It should be pointed out, however, that there are differences in welfare care even today. Those who are admitted to hospitals receive entirely free care, but those in welfare homes must pay in a substantial proportion of their pensions to reimburse the costs of care, because the care provided by welfare homes is not entirely free. On the other hand, we provide for persons with low pensions to such an extent that if their pensions are not enough to cover the charges for care, we even give them 400 forints of spending money a month. On the other hand, we know that there are families with sufficient incomes to afford paid services. Thus businesses have freedom of movement within these limits.

[Question] What information do you have about the health care and welfare activity of the churches?

[Answer] There have been several church initiatives for the increased participation of the churches in solving the problems of health care and welfare. According to our experience, the church institutions established for such purpose are providing excellent care. They want our assistance in training their personnel—their nurses and social workers—and in providing professional supervision of their institutions.

[Question] As you have frequently pointed out, the standard for measuring every action in the health service is whether or not it contributes to medical treatment. For this very reason the quality of management at medical institutions, and the extent to which it is demanding and ethical, are very important. Where does the profession stand in this respect?



[Answer] This is a most difficult question. I would say that in general we can be satisfied with the managements of the institutions. In this respect we are getting relatively few well-founded complaints. Which means that most medical directors know what they are doing and are performing their duties conscientiously. So far as the future is concerned, we must strive to develop cooperating medical teams in our large hospitals. Obviously, this is the way of the future. This is why we are letting economists, engineers and other diplomats gain also training in medicine. These might seem bold innovations at present in our country, but in the long run neither efficient operation nor economical and sensible organization can be imagined otherwise. I hope that these efforts will gain acceptance in the medical profession, just as the appointment of directors for a definite term of office has gained acceptance. Such appointments mean regular performance ratings. In this way a doctor's work is reviewed every four years, and his professional qualities as well as his managerial behavior are evaluated.

[Question] When speaking of medical conduct, the question of gratuities inevitably arises. The signs "Free Medical Care" posted in clinics and hospital corridors seem to be more and more perfunctory these days.

[Answer] I have been saying for 10 years that I want placed on my desk the name of anyone who demanded a gratuity, and also the name of the person who gave it. I am speaking of demanding, not of accepting, a gratuity. I have never received a single name so far. Another thing: we would like to achieve that patients stop whispering among themselves about who should get how much. The basic ethical requirement is that every doctor treat each patient on a high professional level. The patient who feels that he is getting the maximum professionally, and is also receiving courteous and good care, will not think that he might get better treatment and care if he paid. Our problems are generally the same as the problems in entire society, but in the area of health care these problems often manifest themselves in a particular way. We are not expecting help from the outside to solve these problems, because these are society-wide problems that will be solved only if the necessary measures are adopted within each specialized area. But those who are in any managerial position within the various areas of the health service—from the heads of the district medical service up to the minister—must function in their chosen profession and undertaken duties with greater responsibility than heretofore, so that the population may perceive even under the more slowly expanding conditions that society not only offers health care but actually provides it.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

1014  
CSO: 2500/401

NEW REFORMED CHURCH IN DUNAUJVAROS UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 14 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] Our picture shows the mock up of the church, parish and congregational hall now under construction in Dunaujvaros. The plans were prepared by the Ybl Prize winning architect, Istvan Szabo, who has taken into consideration the fact that Dunaujvaros is an important steel production center. This fact will be evident in the form of the building. Modern light structural materials will make possible the form of one of the buildings. The construction is being made possible by the permission of the responsible state authorities and its favorable support as well as the material and moral support of the leadership of the Duna area congregational district and the individual congregations. There is still a great deal to be done and many expenses to be paid. The Dunaujvaros Presbytery is counting on the continued donations of the sister congregations and other contributors.

CSO: 2500/430

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

**WORLD PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS**--A group of scholars representing Hungary has travelled to Montreal to participate in the 17th World Philosophical Congress. The World Association of Philosophical Societies will meet 21-26 Aug to discuss topics concerning the relationship between philosophy and culture. The Hungarian delegation will be led by Jozsef Lukacs, the director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Philosophical Institute. He will speak at the congress about the problems of doing research on the relationship between religion and culture. He is also directing the work of the religious section of the Congress. [Text] [Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Aug 83 p 1]

CSO: 2500/429

## DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS NOTED

### Homogenous Structure in Federation

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Article by Wojciech Jaros: "We Wish To Create a Homogenous Structure"]

[Text] The current situation in the labor unions of mining enterprises and those affiliated with mining is an example of the difficulty of creating a supraplant structure that would satisfy the greatest number of those concerned. There are already three founding committees for a federation of mining unions and each one has its own ideas.

The highest degree of organization is in the federation of labor unions of bituminous coal mines, mining enterprises and shaft-building enterprises. Sixty-one out of 80 have already applied for admission to the federation. Why has just such a structure which is, after all, a limited one been chosen? We addressed this question to members of the founding committee presidium.

"We believe that the federation should unite and not separate," answered Rajmund Moric, chairman from the Wujek Mine. "We would like to bring together plants of a single trade profile which operate on the basis of one collective arrangement and presenting a more or less single professional force. For that reason, we are against accepting plants from areas not directly a part of mining itself. We similarly regard the concept of uniting all mineral-producing plants which are subject to mining law as being too broad. Such a federation would have to embrace a range of enterprises from quarries and brick manufacturing plants to the mineral water industry, thus plants from such diverse branches as mining, steel industry, chemistry and health care. It would be necessary to divide such a federation into levels, keys, and group interests would be lost in the general mass concerns. Meanwhile, in the type of federation that we decided to set up at the meeting of 16 May, we have plants of the same sort with closely-associated interests and working together in their own separate branch of the economy which will make everything easier to manage."



[Question] In what stage of organization is your federation?

[Rajmund Moric] On 27 June, during a meeting of the founding group and the representatives of 60 plants employing about 120,000 unionists, the charter was adopted, the founding committee was named and documents connected with the organization's legal registration were signed. At this time, there are continuing extraordinary general member meetings and union delegate gatherings just as the charter has provided. The subject of these meetings has been the confirmation of union administration decisions to join this very federation. We are still awaiting the entry of the remaining 19 unions to our federation. We hope that they understand that their interests will be best represented by our organization. When we have gotten together the required documents, the presidium of the founding committee will again go to the Provincial Court in Warsaw.

"These activities would not take so long," explains Piotr Lytek of the Wieczorek Mine and chairman of the organizational commission, "but we were only able to inform the unions of the necessity of presenting the decisions by the union member meetings or delegate gatherings on their accession to the concrete supraplant structure only by 27 June. The Provincial Court in Warsaw informed us of this rather late. Indeed, it is just a matter of the formal moves somewhat extending the stage of preparations, but soon the court of registration will demand the decisions and they just have to be made."

[Question] The federation's charter has already been adopted. How is the principle of equality of all of the member unions to be implemented in practice?

"The sole authority of the federation," answers Wacław Martyniuk of Suszec Mine and chairman of the commission on electoral procedure and the program of action, "lies in its council. All members have one vote in the council and two representatives. The executive organ is the presidium which implements the orders of the council and conducts all administrative affairs. A revisional commission, of course, is also active. We have worked out the particular principles by which these organs are to function. They should assure us of the maximum degree of democracy in the making of decisions and the work of the federation authorities. Naturally, all of the member unions preserve the greatest autonomy in their own affairs."

[Question] What are the most important matters that the federation wants to handle?

"We know, of course, that the federation has not yet attained its legal recognition, but it has already been holding conversations with the minister of mining on the matter of having Saturday, 23 July, declared a holiday for the mining crews," answers chairman Moric. "As concerns other problems to be dealt with, we have found those in the replies to an inquiry sent all of our members by our problem commission. On the basis of those replies, we are working out a program and all of the concrete decisions will be made at the first inaugural meeting following registration."

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

## Federation or Uniform Unions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by WJ: "Federation or Uniform Union: It Is Worth Considering the Faults and Merits"]

[Text] An increasing number of unions are taking part in the creation of supraplant structures. This is being brought about by the developing awareness in the course of their everyday activities that, even though the union is able to deal with many problems within the plant, a single organization is not strong enough to handle general problems requiring discussion with other branches of industry, especially if the diverse positions taken by other unions can make it impossible to deal with problems that are important to the workers.

The predominant form of supraplant structures being created is the federation. If the tempo of their formation is maintained and the Council of State assents to the start of activities before 31 December of the federations which have come forward or intend to come forward, there will be about 40 such organizations by the end of the year. This is nearly twice the number of nationwide union organizations that existed prior to August 1980. In response to the question of the faults and merits of supraplant structures, federations and uniform unions, Jerzy Krynicki, director of the office of WZID in Katowice, answered that:

"The greatest advantage to forming a federation lies in the fact that the unions forming it will preserve their legal identity. The member unions are partners with equal rights which have come together for the purpose of more easily attaining common goals. Accession to the federation is completely voluntary and every member union can withdraw from it on its own will and operate entirely on its own. In the classical form of federation, each member union has one representative and one vote. This circumvents the sort of problems that could occur if several representatives of one union take entirely different positions on the same issue.

"Federation members preserve their own charters and the overwhelming majority of matters, with the exception of those ceded to the federation, is handled by the unions themselves. This allows the unions to exist without an overdeveloped administrative 'cap'."

[Question] So much for the merits, but what about the faults?

[Answer] The greatest fault lies in the fact that all of the unions maintain a separate legal identity and charter. This can significantly hinder the unions' preparation or implementation of a common position. It is hard to foresee how it will turn out but the possibility cannot be excluded that there might occur a conflict or a difference in opinion within the general membership.

There will also be difficulties where labor unions active in one branch of industry wish to form a federation. There are often as many as a few thousand of these unions within a given trade and therefore, there arises the purely technical problem of simply seating so many delegates in one hall, not to mention the problem of what sort of mechanism is to be used to reach decisions.

[Question] Are you proposing smaller federations or a uniform union?

[Answer] What I am talking about is a general national structure made up of workers employed in a given branch of work, type of employment or trade. Adoption of this formula will mean that, in place of the previously active labor unions, there will be formed a completely new labor union which alone will have legal recognition and the organizations forming it will waive their own rights to the new union. This structure will act as their representative and performs all actions through its own authorized organs.

In other words, the previously-existing union organizations that have created the uniform union have an influence on all "outside" contacts beyond the union only through its structure. The union charters are replaced by a uniform general national charter and organization members are subordinated to a central authority. The level of financial aid, worker privileges, and methods of establishing and dividing union funds are all standardized and at the same time resolved for all members.

Such a manner of unification makes it easier for the unionists to hold discussions with plant administrations and the authorities, and increases union strength in cases where joint action is necessary but also has its faults. Above all, delegates to the central levels of authority are elected in fixed proportion, therefore the smaller organizations cannot have their own representatives at that level since they share delegates with several other unions. The small organizations have too far to go to deal with concrete issues since they have to be referred to the central organization which alone has legal authority to intervene on behalf of those smaller unions. It is therefore very important that the charter of such an organization, setting up territorial structures in particular provinces, not repeat the old mistakes made by the ORZZ [District Council of Trade Unions] and the WRZZ [Provincial Council of Trade Unions] where frequently the weight itself of the bureaucracy retarded the initiation of any action at all.

One other thing has to be said: there are no ideal solutions that can be developed theoretically. The formation of supraplant structures is continually in stage of experiment and adjustment to various solutions. The unionists adopt the solutions or alter them as the need arises. Only the unionists have the right to decide the form to be taken and what the charter is to be as it is also up to them what form and activities the union is to acquire.

## On the Road to Trade Union Federation

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 14 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by Macz: "On the Road to Trade Union Federation: We Were Betting on Personnel Councillors..."]

[Text] The work force of PSS [General Consumers' Cooperative] Spolem consists of nearly 6,000 employees and only the Szczecin Shipyards and the professions of longshoreman, seaman and railway worker are bigger in terms of number of persons employed. At this time, the union organization of Spolem already has about 2,000 members. This is therefore the biggest union organization active in one enterprise in Western Pomerania.

"We can actually say that over half of our workforce belongs to the trade union," says Czeslaw Jeswein, vice-chairman of the union. "In spite of the fact that slightly less than 6,000 persons are employed in our cooperative, it must be remembered that almost 2,000 are mothers on 3-year leave without pay, agents and persons that work for us as their second employer, for example milkmen. Practically speaking, our workforce contains 4,000 persons actually employed."

"In terms of numbers, our union had a miserly start," adds Zenon Dobrzanski, chairman of the union's work commission. "In October of last year, our initiative group consisted of 30 persons. Now we have already held elections and I think that we can be proud of the fact that people are seeking us out to ask for admission to our organization. After all, the union has existed for less than 5 months. The first conference of delegates was held on 7 March this year."

"Now we are already a completely organized union. The charter and three commissions are already active. The commissions are the social commission, work commission and commission on wage affairs. In our union, there is also a commission of popular musicians since there are permanent musical groups that play in Spolem-managed clubs and that specific profession also has its representatives and specialists in the union."

Czeslaw Jeswein: Our first action as a constituted union was our entry into social affairs. Concretely and in accordance with the suggestions of our members, we brought about revision on the principles of employee use of social funds. In spite of resistance on the part of the administration and the injurious views of those people who do not approve of the application of time-honored changes, people living under the most difficult material conditions now have the highest benefits from the social fund in our cooperative. In awarding grants and financial assistance, we are directed by the family per capita income rather than the worker income. Such "reckoning" per family member rather than the entire family have warped the picture. It doesn't mean much if one of our employees earns 12,000 zlotys monthly but has a wife and three children to support.



We have already spoken a great deal about social problems. We are a very large enterprise and we do not have our own vacation home! We are also not a poor enterprise. For 10 years we have been the theoretical owners of rather large areas of building ground in Miedzyzdroje. Nothing is happening there. Knowing how things go, we are aware that someone may turn up and be given some of this land. For that reason, we have also decided that, as a union organization, we will finish handling this matter this year. As a cooperative and a union, we must put into motion an investment that will result in building ground and consequently the construction there of a real vacation home for our employees. The time of half-hearted efforts, in other words, recreational clearings, picnics or camping vacations, has passed.

Z. Dobrzanski: In our everyday work, we rely on the institution known as the personnel councillor. These are our union officers, people by means of whom we maintain daily contact with our members. Why have I brought this up? We are operating in a very specific situation. Our union groups are the personnel of shops, cafeterias and restaurants. We are scattered about all over the city and its periphery. Practically speaking, it sometimes even happens that an employee is accepted into the cooperative and for years he doesn't show his face in the cooperative's headquarters building. For that reason, the personnel councillor is also our liaison.

C. Jeswein: The personnel councillor must be a person that represents the union and its members to the immediate leadership. We concluded that without his participation, premium settlements, reward lists and reclassifications in this enterprise "are not valid." At the present time as well, the cooperative's administration has issued decrees sanctioning these decisions and this has been a good thing since we keep having to deal with "the great and important" who treat their positions as unique and indivisible and regard cooperation with union personnel councillors as a threat to their authority.

Z. Dobrzanski: The personnel councillor must be the sort of person that knows not only about the problems of his colleague with whom he works but can also organize a trip to the hospital for him when he is sick, send him a telegram of congratulations on the birth of a child and "drive" the administration if someone has worked 20 or 30 years and should receive a bonus for that...

C. Jeswein: We are satisfied with the work by the majority of our personnel councillors. The union members feel the same way about their work and attitude. It is true that various scoundrels wanting an easy and pleasant ride to the top tried to come in "on the coattails" of the union, but that never lasted very long. It was easy to sniff out that type. They lose the trust of their group and we bid them farewell.

Z. Dobrzanski: Much has already been said about conflict situations. We often have to deal with situations in which an employee comes to us for help because they are planning to terminate him. Situations such as these must be very thoroughly examined. As a labor union, we cannot become an

institution defending malingerers and persons drinking on the job but we also cannot leave a person on his own if we see a possibility for improvement on the part of the "person under notice." We have a talk with his supervisor.

C. Jeswein: There are other matters that are no less complicated, for example, premium regulations. We feel that these regulations came into being a long time ago and some of them today, especially those setting the ceilings for premiums, are obsolete and no longer correspond to the current situation on the "wage market." The directors of individual establishments are complaining to us that the amount of premiums awarded them is being scrupulously guarded despite their demonstrated achievements. On the other hand, premiums above the levels set by the regulations are awarded to subordinate workers under the claim that their positions are "deficit" ones and that if the premium is not awarded, the employee will be insulted and leave the job and his position cannot be later filled. That is also true, but it is not an honest solution with regard to honest workers. Do we again have to say that "everything is as it should be and that his only fault is that he is the director and what sort of great figure is the director of a shop or cafeteria? If he won't roll up his sleeves, he won't earn anything..."

In our cooperative we are also undertaking a broad campaign on safety and work conditions. It has turned out that a very large group of our employees is working in bad conditions. These conditions are not dangerous to life or health but the very tight, damp, dark and poorly-functioning facilities in which our stores and shops are located are an authentic cause of the work there being difficult. We are proposing two solutions. The first is the introduction of financial recompensation and the other is the shortening of work hours in such establishments.

Z. Dobrzanski: In the past few months, I have taken a look at the current situation within our union. I am a member of the PZPR. There are people among us who were members of the "branch unions" and very many former Solidarity members. Subconsciously I was afraid of frictions, undercurrents and animosities but I can now say outright that we haven't observed any such negative phenomena. It should be said that we are all together, without differences and envy. It's good that we were able to survive this difficult period without hard feelings, conflicts or misunderstandings leaving splinters in our collective psyche...

C. Jeswein: We are ready for the next stage in the union's development. Work is continuing on the formation of a federation of Spolem employee labor unions. We feel that this is the next step toward the growth of our union democracy and independence.

## Trade Union Information - Federation or Uniform Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 83 p 4

[Articles by IF, WFK, Kazimierz Iwaniec, Jacek Gallant, Stanislaw Scirka, W. Szymanski]

[Text] Federation or Uniform Union?

Federation or united general national labor union? Unionists of various branches of production and services as well as trades face such a dilemma in their contemplation of which form of a supraplant structure will best and most effectively defend worker interests. The resolution adopted 2 months ago by the Council of State on the principles and method of union organization seems to have found fertile ground in the fledgling union movement. The need to create higher organizational forms of representation to reinforce the influence and strength of the near 15,300 labor unions already active in Poland has become very real.

Information from various groups and communities that is reaching us almost daily confirms the decision to form general national organizations before the end of the year, the deadline designated in the labor union decree.

In our region, consultative-preliminary meetings were held by the following groups: the metal workers' labor unions, public education, the health services, collective farms, the food industry, State Motor Transport, the Municipal Transportation Enterprise, the Ursus Metallurgical Plant, light industry, the construction industry, chemical industry and the union organizations of miners and railway workers.

As we have already stated, a nationwide consultative meeting of representatives of plant labor unions from the communications and telecommunications industries took place on the 28th and 29th of this month.

In the course of meetings and consultations that have been held so far, an integrated program of action was stressed and representatives to founding groups and committees were also chosen.

It is worth stressing the fact that the first people to propose creating a supraplant structure were the worker groups with a long past tradition of union activity such as the miners, steel workers, metal workers, railway workers, and educational and transportation workers.

It has been foreseen that the development of supraplant structures will also extend itself this year to branches of labor such as agriculture, the food industry, the electrical machinery industry, state commerce and cooperative commerce, and army civilian employees. The first initiatives for a supraplant structure are taking place in many other branches such as the health service and light industry.

By integrated action, unionists in the branches mentioned are actively participating in organizations in our region. As the intentions and decisions made up to now by the unionists have shown, the federational form has had the greatest amount of success. The federation assures all plant organizations of the preservation of their legal personality.

The democratization of internal union activity and effectiveness of their operations are two entirely different matters. The choosing of a federational form means that an extended and complicated process of making decisions and implementing them has to be taken into account. This is a matter of great importance to the unionists, the organs of authority and the efficiency of consultations taken with the labor unions. Many questions have to be considered in choosing this form such as whether the voting power of member organizations are to be based on the size of the organization or whether all organizations are to be given a single vote alike. It will also be necessary to decide what portion of federation property is to be controlled by member organizations. This matter is simplest in a uniform supraplant structure: the plant organizations are only administrators of union property.

Generally speaking, developing a new union movement in such complicated social, political and economic circumstances as the present situation has created is not an easy matter. There is little experience that could be drawn upon and a great deal of matters which require a completely new approach and often innovative solutions. There is, however, no one that can impose anything on the unions. The choice of solutions to these problems will be made entirely by the unionists themselves even if they do make mistakes at times.

Preservation of the autonomy of the unionists will assure the unions of their appropriate place and rank in the life of the nation and its workers.

#### Issue of Income Tax

In connection with numerous inquiries and recommendations concerning the exemption of labor unions from having to pay a tax on the salaries of union employees, we would like to inform that:

The taxation of salaries of persons employed by labor unions has come under the control of regulations of the 26 February 1982 law on taxation of units of socialized administration (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 7, Item 55). According to the decrees of Article 33, Section 3, Part 2 of the above law, political, social and professional organizations are exempt from tax assessment of salaries paid to persons employed by these organizations for purposes of realizing their charter missions (noneconomic).

According to the regulation, the salaries of permanent labor union employees are not subject to income taxes.



## With Character

There are already more than 70 union organizations active in the collective farms of Lublin Province. They were born of an authentic need in work establishments of representation of worker interests. This need has been felt among the workers of agricultural enterprises all the more since in still many agricultural farms, service outposts, and the workshops of cooperatives and agricultural circles as well as state agricultural service enterprises, there is much to be done in the area of work conditions, job safety and the streamlining of work organization and the wage system.

It was once a seldom occurrence for anyone competent to take any interest in these affairs, something happening in some farm far removed from the rest of the countryside, the SKR base or a construction group working in the field.

When enterprises active in agriculture are autonomous, it is frequently difficult to draw the attention of the administration from problems demanding concentration on what is important to the economics of enterprise operations to matters associated with the work conditions and lives of the workers, especially those problems needing financial expenditures.

Union chairmen spoke about these and similar signs of the union's activity at the 6 July 1983 meeting with the vice-governor of Lublin Province, Wladyslaw Saba. These signs do, of course, vary within particular enterprises. There are those enterprises in which the administration does not only keep up on the matters under discussion here, but also creates favorable locational and technical conditions for union activities. An example of this is the Agricultural Equipment and Transport Enterprise in Glusk, where the director, Jozef Szymanski, in assessing the activity of the labor union there, regards it as an equal partner. "There is not even any problem in getting an automobile if someone from the union administration has to go to another plant union on some business," says the union chairman at this enterprise, Eugeniusz Kaczor, emphasizing the well-arranged cooperation between the union and the party organization, the workers' self-management and the plant administration. Out of the 612 employees in this enterprise, 420 belong to the labor union.

The union administration has worked out cooperation with the social affairs division in the enterprise and the positive result of this is the well-organized summer childrens' camp. Vacation facilities have also been arranged for employees that want them and their families. "If it were still possible to solve some of our workers' housing problems, we could then say that the union organization is working well," adds Zygmunt Kuna, deputy chairman of the organization. It must be said, however, that much has been done in this area for years and that every year the workers are receiving housing from the plant's construction.

Agriculture in Lublin Province is characterized by its variety. The users of the soil are individual farmers, state agricultural farms and cooperatives. Everyone has already begun harvesting grain.

"We understand our responsibilities and civil duties," said discussion participants at a gathering of unionists from collective farm enterprises. "We must begin the harvest with full commitment. Thirty-six million of our citizens are waiting for bread and they should be able to live from the fruits of their own land."

The workers at the Piotrowice POM [State [Agricultural] Machine Station], spent the early spring repairing agricultural equipment from the SKR and the production cooperatives and also carried out its appointed work before the harvest began. In this enterprise, a union organization of 82 persons conducts its activities. Aside from seeing to workers' concerns, this organization has given itself the goal of efficient management. The chairman of the organization, Marian Sienkiewicz, says that good work conditions in the enterprise also involve protecting the workers' interests and positive financial results should lead to improvement in the employee living conditions. This seems to be a logical understanding of principles since there may not be just unilateral demands in union work. Unionists in collective agriculture have two aims in their work--concern for the employees combined with efficient management.

#### Some 16,358 Organizations Registered

As of 10 July, the provincial courts throughout Poland had received 16,968 recommendations for registration of plant union organizations.

At the same time, the courts had recognized 16,597 recommendations (over 97 percent) and registered 16,358 new unions. In 138 cases, the courts declined to register organizations and in 100 other cases, proceedings were discontinued for various reasons.

The Provincial Court in Warsaw received seven recommendations for the registration of supraplant union organizations. Three of these organizations have been registered so far.

#### To Be a Unionist in MPO [Municipal Sanitation Enterprise]

Every city has one - the enterprise in which no one willingly works because of the dirt, smell and hard work. Everyday, in rain, heat, and frost, several hundred workers in orange overalls see to the cleanliness of our streets and houses. In the Lublin sanitation enterprise, there work 640 persons, 130 of which are members of the Autonomous Independent Labor Union of MPO Employees. The union was founded in December 1982 at the initiative of the workers.

The idea of restoring the union movement has above all found support among MPO workers, 50 percent of whom are union members. It is the loaders, drivers and city building employees that are the group that form the backbone of the union. In May, elections for the union leadership were held and the chairman elected was a 5-year employee of the MPO, Jan Trawczynski who, as he himself says, has survived four enterprise directors. The work of the popularly known garbageman is hard and the frequent changes in the post of director of this enterprise attest to this fact. Winter comes,

the roads are covered and there is a shortage of sand and salt so everyone immediately starts complaining about the MPO. There is no one who wants to do this work and even if they were found it would not improve the situation. Vehicles lack batteries, tires, inner tubes and spare parts. The workers are then unable to earn anything since their wages are based on the tonnage of removed garbage.

These problems and others of which there is no shortage in this business have brought the employees to the point where they have founded their own labor union. Now they no longer take their problems to the director as individuals but as unionists and that already means something. They are thus alarming the directors as to the need for repairs to their social lodgings. For example, the barracks on Krasnickiej is dark, dirty and there is nowhere to relax.

The situation is similar in other establishments within the enterprise located on Garbarskiej and Zawilcowej Streets and the village of Zawidz near Lublin. It is true that 9 million zlotys have been designated for investment and repairs but that sum is a drop of water in a sea of needs. Wherever repair work is necessary it is done, but such a "short blanket" policy does not please members of the labor union even if they are aware that there are not funds enough to do everything.

The employment situation looks much the same. Low wages and hard and thankless work have made it a foregone conclusion that the MPO does not have a full permanent staff. This situation occurs not only in Lublin but throughout the country. This fact was brought out at a meeting with city management workers in Warsaw. Later, representatives of the unionists rode to Wroclaw where they participated in work to set up their own federation. In July, the unionists from the MPO were already supposed to establish detailed propositions and later work out their own supraplant structure during the congress.

Aside from this, the MPO Workers' Autonomous Independent Labor Union took over the documents, finances and all other affairs of the former unions and has now actively joined the life of the workers. The unionists are paying charter fees, influencing the decisions made on housing allotments and, in cooperation with the Social Commission of the Employees' Council and the enterprise directorship, deal with current problems. Pensioners and retired workers belonging to the union want to reach persons on pension or retired like themselves so that they can help their colleagues with their everyday problems. Lublin needs a new sanitary landfill because the one they have in Jawidz will soon no longer be able to take another kilogram of trash. Such an investment costs 280 million zlotys. The unionists know about this and are doing everything they can to change the situation.

The chairman of the union, telling me about these problems, said: "The labor union cannot deal with all problems and many of them should be solved by competent persons in the administration. As long as no one does this, we have to at least remind them about it."

## Dangers

Recently, the State Labor Inspectorate submitted a report on its activities in 1982.

Work conditions in about 13,000 plants were studied. The study produced:

One hundred twenty-seven thousand orders to liquidate sources of endangerment to human health and life occurring as a result of lack of safety devices or the poor state of technical objects, installations, machines, equipment and means of transport;

Twenty-seven thousand orders limiting occupational disease threats;

Thirteen thousand orders to improve hygienic and health conditions;

In 14,500 cases, orders issued to immediately halt work for reasons of direct threats to life and health.

This is the result of control activity over 1 year, conducted in only a part of our plants. In its list of socialized units, the Central Statistical Bureau includes nearly 62,000 enterprises, production plants and service establishments subject to control by the State Labor Inspectorate.

### Lublin Province: How Many of Us Are There?

There exists at the present time the possibility for the creation of labor unions at 680 economic units in Lublin Province (including 88 units employing between 16 and 50 persons). As of 14 July 1983, there were 452 plant union organizations already registered. In 162 plants, union initiative groups were active.

In over 260 work establishments, registered labor unions held elections for their union leadership and began organizational work. In 122 plants, there were no initiative groups. This especially applies to cooperative banks (42), design bureaus (18), PKO [Polish Savings Bank] and State Insurance Bureau offices, community work cooperatives and invalid cooperatives (38) as well as branches of work establishments located outside of Lublin Province.

The core of the new labor unions consists of workers and they make up about 70 percent of the total union membership. Up to now, about 60,000 persons have applied for membership in the labor unions (that is, 31 percent of employed workers in our province).

There are about 18,000 party members employed in union organizations, that is, 38 percent of all unionists.

### If an Account Is Opened...

As the Second Division of PKO in Lublin (Krakowskie Przedmiescie 39) has informed us, when a labor union opens an account, it must submit an abstract of its registration documentation and samples of the signatures



of persons authorized by the plant organization's administration to withdraw account funds. A sample of the organization's seal is also demanded. When these demands are met, the union representatives receive the check book and the account is opened.

In Lublin Province, the following PKO offices have the right to open accounts: the PKO Second Division in Lublin and divisions in Krasnik, Lubartow, Opole Lubelskie, Pulawy, Ryki and Swidnik.

**Polemics: Who Can Push Their Way To the Counter?**

In posing this question, we wish to counter A. Mankowska's opinion on the sale of articles of permanent value.

In presenting the good and bad sides of selling these articles in a system of general distribution, A. Mankowska, in a sea of figures and opinions supplied by high officials of commerce and administration, has forgotten to ask the opinion on that subject of plant workers who are to a large extent effected by this type of sale. One must be aware that having to choose the lesser evil such as spontaneous sale, or first come, first served, we should decide to sell on the basis of coupons, in spite of everything else. When one compares the chances for buying anything of those working and those not working, it is plain that the latter have the advantage. Meanwhile, in our opinion, the working person frequently employed in work over several shifts should have priority in the purchase of permanent value articles. Aside from the moral satisfaction, this will surely form an effective motivation for productive work.

It is not true as A. Mankowska has written that "the representatives of large work establishments do not want such a concept of control nor other systems of distribution." She has gotten her opinion from the Provincial Domestic Trade Enterprise which for well-known reasons wanted to cultivate a protective "partisan" in commerce who has no connections with reform. Commerce at the present time, in the form practiced up to now, is nothing more than distribution favoring nonworking persons having much free time and a knowledge of trade. On the other hand, the opinion of the representatives of labor unions of the nine largest work establishments in the Lublin region and representing the metal and electrical machinery industries was unambiguous on this point.

At a meeting on 24 April 1983 in which participated the representatives of Swidnik WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], the Agroma Agricultural Machinery Plant in Lublin, the Eda Electrical Machine works in Poniatowa, the Lublin Scale Factory, the Krasnik FLT, LZNS, the Lublin Ursus Foundry and the Lublin Truck Factory, a position was worked out demanding the sale of sought-after permanent value articles above all to work establishment crews. A letter describing our position was sent to the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services as well as to the Trade Division of the Provincial Administration in Lublin.

We very well understand that real commerce may not be based on distribution, however, due to over 3 years of problems in buying, we have to take the lesser evil, temporary distribution.

So to answer the question posed in the title of this column, we can say at this time that it is certainly not the worker who is pushing his way to the counter. In our opinion, it is necessary to do everything possible so that working people can spend their honestly-earned money on the things they need.

P.S. of the last moment: Warsaw has joined Wroclaw in controlled sales.

(The author represents and is the vice-chairman of the Lublin Truck Factory Employees' Independent Autonomous Labor Union.)

Where the Devil Cannot...

The Zamosc division of the Workshop for the Preservation of Monuments has become a permanent part of this city. The decided majority of the 300-member workforce belonged to Solidarity before martial law was introduced. When the possibility to form new unions became apparent, there was a certain feeling of reserve in the Zamosc Workshop for the Preservation of Monuments. The men in some way did not have the courage to agitate for the new unions so Jadwiga Szymanska, the senior assistant in the design shop which has been associated with this enterprise since its beginnings, took the matter into her own hands.

In March of this year, the Independent Autonomous Labor Union of Employees of the Zamosc Workshop for the Preservation of Monuments was registered as the first union in its branch of the economy. Fifty-two persons took part in the general assembly and the union now includes 75 workers as well as 24 pensioners and retired employees. Thirteen new members joined only at the end of May and beginning of June. Mrs Szymanska, having had appropriate training in Jachranka and having been elected chairman of the union's administration, takes care that all changes made be known to the workers here so all of the news from the union is posted in an interesting form on the plant bulletin board.

It must be admitted that the new union began operating at once. The opportunity had presented itself. The previous director left the plant. Since the workers' self-management was dispersed, the unionists soon felt the responsibility to recommend a candidate to this post. "I wanted to be convinced that our organization is of some value," confides J. Szymanska now. It turned out that the union candidate, a respectable person genuinely recognized by the workers, was supported by the entire administrative aktiv. The party organization also supported this candidate. The Zamosc workshop is now directed by a man chosen by the workers.

This post is not an easy one. The labor union at once came out with a demand for the construction of housing. An agreement has already been made with the housing cooperative on the construction of 15 consecutively erected one-family dwellings.

The workshop has produced the designs for the houses and has also located land for their construction on Wiejska Street. The matter is gaining momentum. The plant took over construction of the housing but persons interested have been obliged to do social work on an extended work day. Soon, a detailed work schedule is supposed to be prepared so that the work will not be done at the expense of the plant's obligations. A recommendation has also been made that housing vacated by departing workers be allotted to the Workshop's staff. This demand is being respected by the city mayor.

The administration of the workers' union has also been trying to obtain a surcharge on city transportation tickets for employees having greater distances to travel to reach the job. Sixty percent of the ticket cost is being financed. There has been interest expressed in worker rationalization which was set aside at the Workshop for the Preservation of Monuments. Thus, a chamber for rationalization and invention is being set up and later on there will be a plant technology and rationalization club.

The new organization has taken over 129,000 zlotys from the old unions and also has disposition of all of their current contributions. It has put them into payment of charter dues, the organization of trips, etc. Recently, a trip to the zoo was organized for employee children. For a long time, there has not been such successful union activity.

Cultural, revisional and social commissions have been established within the union administration and a social work inspectorate was also elected. The most important union task, however, is becoming the defense of workers, both members and nonmembers. One case went as far as the territorial appeals commission. The union was upheld in the case, the worker's rights were restored and the union gained a new member. Another disagreement with the plant administration involves the union's participation in developing work regulations. The unionists are proposing the introduction of certain improvements but they have been running into formal would-be hindrances. It must be considered that this matter too will be properly disposed.

"Plant patriots," as the unionists are popularly called have also very much concerned themselves with general plant matters. This has resulted in the idea of announcing some contests for the workers such as "Our Plant - Our Home," "Best Coworker" and "Best Garden Plot." The contest winners will receive attractive rewards.

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## PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Gdansk Trade Union Development

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 13 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Halina Bykowska: "In the Sphere of Trade Union Issues: Union Workers at Gdansk Refineries"]

[Text] The secretary to the head director of the Gdansk Refineries was in a predicament when it turned out that the trade union chairman, Tadeusz Piasecki, was unable to come to an interview with the journalist because he had been in an accident two days earlier: it was really important to me to get in touch with union workers at Gdansk Refineries.

The refineries employ more than 1,800 workers, but only 52 have joined the union. People are reluctant to talk about the union as well. Some even prefer to keep their mouths shut. Yet, I managed to find two interviewees: Wlodzimierz Buczynski, a member of the union leadership, and pumpstation operator Bernard Wilczynski, a member of the union auditing committee, employed as a maintenance man for civil defense equipment, and, in fact, the main initiator of restoration of trade union organization at the refineries.

The situation at Gdansk Refineries was similar to that in many enterprises: the law of trade unions, published in the fall of 1982, provided an impetus for starting formal action. In short order, the initiation group of several persons transformed itself into the founding committee. Even then, it had to handle innumerable tasks. Supported by the founding social commission, the committee was active. It functioned as a mediator between personnel and management on matters concerning distribution of apartments in the refineries' housing complex and eviction of illegal tenants from factory-owned lodgings. Other issues included the distribution of bonuses, dismissal of employees, reprimands and conflicts between management and workers. Not a day passed without an intervention by telephone, and people were coming to the room occupied by the union constantly.

"We were working," recollected B. Wilczynski, "to strengthen our numbers. According to the binding documents, we had to have at least 30 members to apply for union registration. We began to talk to workers personally.



We unearthed the records of former union branches, saw who were their members and began to talk to people one-on-one. We thus saw who we could count on.

"Everything happened as planned. The membership of the new union increased. Work on preparing an optimum version of its charter forged ahead successfully, and the efforts bore fruit, when on 24 February 1983 the Independent Trade Union at Gdansk Refineries was registered by the Voivoidship Court in Gdansk."

Elections were held that very day. Jan Lewandowski, a retired refineries worker, was elected chairman. A five-member union council was appointed. Later, the council was expanded to include five more members in an additional election.

"We tried to elect to the council such members," recounted W. Buczynski, "who would ensure that workers on all shifts were in contact with the union. Our door is literally open from the morning until 4:00 p.m., and sometimes much later."

J. Lewandowski soon resigned. At the next meeting, Tadeusz Piasecki, a gas main supply equipment operator with long experience, was elected chairman of the union by secret ballot.

Management assumed a friendly attitude towards the union. Even before elections were held, the head director ordered supervisors to allow the union workers to be absent from work when they were on their scheduled union duties. This was a necessary step, because interest in the union was great.

"I had never belonged to a union," said B. Buczynski, "but when I began to organize the activity of the union at the refineries, I became convinced that the union is needed for workers."

The work of the union is going along smoothly. Activists take part in a great number of issues, concerned with the needs of the entire staff.

"We have been fighting with the management for distribution of bonuses for export production," B. Wilczynski recounted. "We introduced about a dozen stipulations into the rules of bonus distribution. Thanks to our efforts, the lowest bonus has been increased by 50 percent up to 1,000 zlotys. The bonuses are awarded by the workers' collective, and the lists of awardees are made public."

At one of the meetings, the workers suggested that the social fund should be used to subsidize vacations abroad. There was an ardent debate. Some said that during the economic crisis one should not go on foreign trips, while others disagreed.

"Common sense prevailed, and the intervention of the union certainly helped," reported W. Buczynski. "The union budget totals 600,000 zlotys. The cost estimates for this year provide leaving in reserve just 200,000. We cannot subsidize foreign trips, but nothing stands in the way of using the social fund, which is sizeable, in ways the workers would prefer. Management supported the union's view, and, as a result, quite a few of our workers will go vacationing to Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania."

Thanks to union initiative, the Gdansk Refineries have been developing contacts with similar organizations in other socialist countries.

"The union chairman," said Buczynski, "suggested at a recent meeting that we renew contacts with Bulgarian and Rumanian refineries. It is important for us to share know-how. Almost one-third of the staff had their training there. The chairman's proposal was supported unanimously. This fall, the first group of our workers will be going to Bulgaria."

Union members have made a study of consumption and the need for workclothes and footwear. They determined which working sites experienced faster wear of clothing and shoes and also at which sites they lasted longer.

"About one-third workers recently received new workclothes and footwear. This is not much. Therefore, we must be careful and spare our supplies of these items. For some workers we have prolonged the replacement time for workclothes and footwear up to two years, while for others we reduced it to 8 months. For instance, in department MZE-33, where workers have to work with alkalis, acids and chlorides, workclothes wear faster. We learned to be sparing with workclothes. The factory's service units (Snieszki) not only launder but wax workclothes."

Union workers have taken to heart the housing problems.

"An interesting suggestion has recently been made," narrated Buczynski, "by Barbara Fudali, a member of the union leadership. She proposed to organize an association of workers to build their own one-family houses using waste materials available at our enterprise. Almost 100 workers have enrolled in this project to build their own houses."

The Independent Trade Union at Gdansk Refineries (NSZZ) is doing--as should be clear from the foregoing--good work benefitting the entire staff. I share the optimism of Buczynski and Wilczynski, who assert that the union will attract many more members if it proves itself with tangible results of its activities.

## Trade Unions Transforming Poland

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16-17 Jul 83 pp 1,5

[Report of PAP from Warsaw: "Participation of the Trade Union Movement in the Transformation of the Nation: Union Organizations Are Occupying Their Proper Place in Enterprise Workers' Collectives"]

[Text] On July 15, 1983, the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Trade Union Affairs met. During the course of the discussions, conducted by deputy premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, participants were informed of the development of the trade union movement. The committee made initial evaluations of the implementation of social contracts signed almost three years ago. The financial situation of trade unions was also discussed.

During the half year that elapsed since the new trade unions started their work, they have become the largest public organization in Poland. Their membership rolls include about 3,000,000 members, and registered union organizations and/or founding committees are active at almost 90 percent of the enterprises allowed by law to have unions.

Trade unions are gradually assuming their proper role among workers and in the political life of the nation. The movement is moving ahead despite boycotts and agitation by the underground and despite drastic, and sometimes fierce, attacks against union activists at enterprises. In the atmosphere of enmity that the opposition is trying to create around the unions, joining the movement has become an act of courageous political choice, a statement in favor of active participation of unions in the socialist transformation taking place in the country. In July alone, approximately a quarter million individuals joined the union, and some 2,000 new organizations were registered.

The creation of nationwide organizations is moving ahead rapidly, and trade unions are pinning their hopes on these organizations' effectiveness in protecting the interests of workers, while the authorities hope that this will enable effective and representative consultation on decisions of vital interest to working people.

Initially, a federation form was chosen. So far, three organizations of a higher level have been registered, and steps have been taken to create over a dozen similar new organizations.

The government is, and will continue to remain, loyal to agreements it concluded with the working class. It will not deviate from the spirit of these contracts born as a result of workers' protests against distortions of socialism--such as the general conclusion stated by the committee in evaluating the program implementing the social agreements. It has stated that the broad democratization of public life conducted despite the unnatural conditions of the martial law and consistent socialist renewal have a much farther-reaching scope than the texts of the agreements. In socioeconomic spheres, most of these provisions have been implemented, despite the fact that--as practice has shown--

the nation was unable to carry out some of the decisions--such as those concerning wages and free Saturdays.

It was recognized that all signed agreements should be properly implemented, and, as is known, in addition to the three principal documents, several hundred such contracts were signed in individual branches of industry, and even at individual enterprises. In this connection, the committee requested the ministries to analyze in detail and report to workers in each industry and large plant as to which of the signed agreements have been implemented and which have proved unfeasible and for what reasons.

This does not mean, of course, that all provisions can be implemented. Granting, for instance, all wage increases would mean extra expenditures of billions of dollars, which would clearly spell disaster for the economy. This would be in blatant conflict with the principles of the economic reform, which hold that wages are determined by self-governing enterprises and not the central authorities. A new concept of emolument structures should be based on these principles--the contracts at enterprises. Proposals for specific solutions in this area will be discussed with trade unions.

Another subject of discussion was the financial difficulties faced by trade unions during their starting phase. It is important to maintain complete financial independence for unions. It was decided to draw up a text of decisions made for the Council of Ministers that would enable these nationwide organizations to draw on funds from accounts of old trade unions.

After hearing a report on the current efforts of the Commission on Management of Trade Union Properties, the committee decided to work out a draft decision for the Council of Ministers to prescribe procedures for transfer of properties by the commission to nationwide union organizations. The draft decision is to be discussed with these organizations.

#### New Unions--Largest Public Organization

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 16-17 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Report of PAP from Warsaw: "New Trade Unions Have Become the Largest Public Organization in Poland; They Number Already 3,000,000 Members. The Government Is and Will Be Loyal to Agreements Concluded with the Working Class. It Will Not Deviate from the Spirit of These Contracts, Born As a Result of Workers' Protests--Stated the Meeting of the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Trade Union Affairs"]

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POLAND

BIALA PODLASKA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Plenum on Women's Activities in Socioeconomic Life

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by St. Jad.: "Women's Participation in the Province's Socio-Economic Life: Plenum of the Biala Podlaska PZPR Province Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] / (OWN INFORMATION) On Saturday 30 May the Biala Podlaska PZPR Province Committee was in session. The topic of its session, which was chaired by Czeslaw Staszczak, first secretary of the Province Committee, was the participation of women in the socio-economic life of the Biala Podlaska Province. Invited guests at the session were: a large group of female activists from the League of Polish Women and the Rural Housewives' Circles (KGW), as well as members of the Women's Commission under the PZPR Province Committee and administrative authorities of the province. Other participants in the plenum included Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Socio-Occupational Department at the PZPR Central Committee, and Maria Grabska-Kaczanowska, vice chairperson of the Main Board of the League of Polish Women./

The report of the Province Committee's Executive Board, serving to open the discussions, was presented by Province Committee secretary Witold Burzynski. It described the preparations for the plenum, as preceded by broad consultations and meetings between the leadership of the Province Committee and its Women's Commission, on the one hand, and women's organizations and milieux, on the other. Women--the report stated--account for 52.4 percent of the province's population. This determines their role in the socio-economic life of Biala Podlaska Province. In behalf of the province party echelon, gratitude and acknowledgments were expressed for those women who, during the last 3 difficult years, displayed coolness and influenced by their attitude the moods in various work and social communities as well as actively promoted the normalization of the situation.

The Province Committee secretary declared that the social activism of Biala Podlaska women is demonstrated by their activities as members of the party, the allied political parties and other organizations. Of the 14,300 party members in this province, nearly 4,000 are women. In the United Peasant Party (ZSL) women account for 23 percent of the membership and in the Democratic Party (SD), 25 percent. Twenty-eight women participate in the activities of the Province

People's Council and 327 in the activities of the lower-level people's councils. Young women and girls account for a large part of the membership of youth organizations. The League of Polish Women associates 2,310 women in 67 circles, while more than 16,000 women are active in the 566 KGWs. Comrade Burzynski declared that women's organizations in the province survived well the most difficult period, but now they need aid and support by all socio-political forces. These organizations have not either always made use of their rights to settle the problems of women.

The report discussed extensively the role of women in the province's economy. Of the 63,155 persons employed in the socialized economy women account for 44.2 percent. Nearly 17 percent hold managerial posts, which points to an insufficiently rapid professional advancement of women in the province. Most women are employed in education--they account for 78 percent of total employment in education. The second highest proportion of women--76 percent--work in health service and social services. In culture, women account for 60 percent of all employees. The province's female population is 147,000 but as many as 100,000 out of this total live in the countryside.

The report discussed extensively the problems of rural women, pointing out that elderly and lonely women, who live in particularly large numbers in the countryside, should be the subject of special concern. The situation of the rural woman and the rural family is complicated by the fact that rural households are still in many cases undersupplied with household aids. Rural women are condemned to heavy physical labor on the farm, and the shortages of agricultural equipment make their toil harder. This situation is the principal cause of the efflux of young girls from the countryside.

On broadly presenting the activities of the party and authorities to improve the situation of women in town and country, the report stressed that party echelons and organizations should pay special attention to problems of women at work establishments where they account for the greater part of the workforce.

In the varied and interesting discussion the floor was taken by: Jozefa Matynkowska, deputy to the PRL Parliament and chairperson of the Women's Commission at the Province Committee; Anna Goclawska-Nowak, female farmer from Miedzzyrzec Gmina [Parish], vice chairperson of the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations; Seweryna Struczyk, LKP [League of Polish Women] activist from Milanow Gmina; Janina Tobota, director of POLFER [expansion unknown] in Wozniki; Edward Laskowski, chairman of the ELREMET Cooperative of the Disabled in Biala Podlaska; Leokadia Litwiniuk, chairperson of the Women's Commission at the ZSL; Jozefa Dragan, chairperson of the Biala Podlaska Province Board of the LKP; Walentyna Romaniuk, retired teacher from Losice; Kazimiera Adamiec, chairperson of the Koden KGW; and Krystyna Romaniuk, chairperson of the Radzyn City LKP Committee.

Major topics of the discussion included problems of social pathology and the need to undertake a resolute struggle against alcoholism, which affects families and women painfully. The situation of the rural woman, who does several jobs at a time, was discussed extensively as was, in that context, the migration of youth, and especially young girls, from the countryside. The need to take measures to stem this migration was mentioned. Indispensable in this respect are measures to facilitate farming operations as well as, and perhaps above all, measures relating to culture, education and improvement in social and living conditions. Mention



was made of the difficult situation of rural mothers as regards child care and the disturbing practice of shutting down cultural centers in the countryside owing to lack of funds and premises. The specific problems of disabled women were emphasized.

Much space in the discussion was devoted to the activities of the women's organizations: the LKP and the KGW. It was suggested that these two organizations cooperate more closely in resolving the problems of women and coordinate their activities. It was stated that the participation of women in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) is gratifying but still too modest. Another postulate voiced was that the authorities at various levels should take into account the opinion of women and their organizations when considering matters that concern primarily women themselves, e.g. trade, services, child care, education, etc. At the province level this participation is assured, but in gminas and cities women are often discussed without asking their opinion. It was proposed that the forms of welfare for female single parents be revised, since they currently receive too little financial assistance compared with large families. Lastly, another major topic of the discussion was the vexations of everyday life, the troubles caused by the economic crisis, which affect primarily precisely those women who feed and bring up families.

/In his summation of the discussion, comrade Stanislaw Gabrielski stated that we--as the party--could in a sense reproach ourselves for having so far paid insufficient attention to the problems of women owing to the pressure of other matters. However, women cannot be viewed in isolation, since they are an integral part of the society and their problems have to be solved in the context of solving the problems of the entire society--housing, trade, child care, etc. Comrade Stanislaw Gabrielski discussed extensively the present socio-political situation in the country and presented in that context the situation of the women's movement. He stated that it was women's organizations--the LKP and the KGW--that withstood the political crisis better than any other organizations. They retained their ideological identity, their membership did not decline, and they forfeited none of their program accomplishments. The LKP is the only social organization in this country to have increased its membership during the last 3 years. The speaker described the party's main tasks with respect to the women's movement, namely: the need to strengthen the authority of the LKP and the KGW and to provide them with every assistance. Next, comrade Gabrielski took a position on the issue of social and occupational-professional advancement of women. Following the events of August 1980, the number of women holding high-level positions dropped drastically. The return of women to high-level posts should be assured, though not according to some rigid administrative quota, comrade Gabrielski stated. Here the women's organizations play an important role: they should recommend their members for high-level positions and, with the party's aid, struggle for a place for women among the leadership of trade unions, self-governments, etc./

Czeslaw Staszczak, first secretary of the Province Committee, summed up the plenum's deliberations.

Concluding its session, the Province Committee adopted a resolution defining the tasks of the party echelons and organizations, the state administration and the women's movement in resolving broadly conceived problems of women.

## Executive Board on Harvesting-Threshing Activities

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by (sw): "In Biala Podlaska: Preparations for Harvesting-Threshing Campaign Assessed" under the rubric "Deliberations of the Executive Boards of the PZPR Province Committees"]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION) At yesterday's joint session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the Province Board of the ZSL in Biala Podlaska, the tasks of party echelons, ZSL circles, state administration, and agricultural service organizations relating to the preparations for the harvesting-threshing campaign were discussed./ [printed in boldface]

As ensues from the presented information, during this year's harvesting season in Biala Podlaska Province grain will have to be reaped from 174,000 hectares, of which 160,000 hectares on private farms. Even earlier, rape will begin to be harvested on 1,000 hectares.

On socialized farms grain will be largely reaped by means of combine harvesters. They are estimated to be 88 percent operational. The equipment to be repaired is: 12 combine harvesters, 82 tractors, and several dozen sheafbinders, trailers and baling presses. The repairs are complicated by the shortages of spare parts, tires and batteries.

The agricultural circles' cooperatives (SKR) will harvest crops on their farms with their own equipment. They also should aid private farmers, but the latter show much less interest in receiving that aid than they did in the previous years, chiefly owing to the increases in the prices of these services. The operational readiness of SKR equipment ranges within 80-84 percent. It is estimated that SKR equipment will be used to harvest grain on about 40 percent of the area of private farms.

For this year's harvesting campaign the province is provided with 43,600 balls of string for sheafbinders, which will meet barely 54 percent of the demand.

During the harvest 25 emergency equipment teams will be active, the operating hours of spare parts depots and PZZ [State Grain Elevators] will be augmented and the operating hours of commercial centers will be adapted to the needs. The rural trading apparatus will attempt to provide greater supplies of cooling beverages and staple foodstuffs than it did in the previous years.

In the discussion much space was devoted to the need to broaden child care during the harvesting season (among other things, 94 child care centers will be organized). In addition the need to revise the prices for mechanization services was pointed out, as was the urgent need to solve the problem of the storage and procurements of grain.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Province Board placed the province governor under the obligation of exercising administrative supervision over the further course of preparations for the

harvests and recommended that the concerned institutions draft and conclude an agreement for providing grain-drying services. The local ZSL elements and basic party organizations were placed under the obligation of fully participating in the work relating to the harvest.

#### Assessment of Health Service Centers

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Jun 83 p 2

[Articles by (kuz) and (1): "In Biala Podlaska: Evaluation of Basic Party Organizations at Health Service Centers; In Lublin: Development of Trade-Union Movement" under the rubric "Deliberations of Executive Boards of PZPR Province Committees"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] In Biala Podlaska

/(OWN INFORMATION) At yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Biala Podlaska PZPR Province Committee the activities of the basic party organizations (POPs) operating in the health service centers of Biala Podlaska Province were discussed./

According to the report presented, these centers employ nearly 2,500 persons, of whom barely 195 are party members. The causes of this situation are many, but perhaps the most important cause is the fact that for many years the province party echelon has been too concerned with problems of building new health service facilities to pay sufficient attention to expanding party membership at individual health care institutions.

In the discussion attention was drawn to the need to show greater concern for the party organizations active in health service than had been the case in the past. This task is to be shouldered by the province party echelon. The low participation of younger health service employees in party work also was considered. This concerns both physicians and pharmacists and the medium-level medical personnel. Attracting young people to active party work should also contribute to improving the functioning of the entire health service. Even now, owing to the influence of the POPs, some improvement is occurring in this respect. For example, there is growing interest in the activities of trade unions and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). This may be exemplified by the Health Care Center in Parczewo where 205 persons already have joined the trade-union movement and, in addition, 10 party members are taking an active part in the local PRON.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee accepted the proposals submitted by the Commission for Health and Social Welfare and at the same time placed the POPs active at health service institutions of Biala Podlaska Province under the obligation of redoubling their efforts to improve the state of public health care and evaluating the performance of the management of health care centers as well as the attitudes of party members from the standpoint of professional ethics.

In Lublin:

/(OWN INFORMATION) At yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee problems of the further development of the trade-union movement in the province were discussed. The session was attended by representatives of the Civic Information-Advisory Commission for Trade Union Affairs under the Presidium of the Lublin Province People's Council: Prof Dr Habilitatus Leopold Grzegorz Seidler, vice chairman, and Jozef Socha, secretary of that commission./

So far 384 plant trade-union organizations have been registered in Lublin Province, with union founding committees and groups being active at 162 additional plants. So far, union initiating groups have not yet been formed at only 20 percent of the plants at which the formation of trade unions is possible.

Altogether, 50,000 persons have joined the trade unions; this is 30 percent of the total employment in the province. Seventy percent of the trade-union membership are blue-collar workers. At 210 trade-union organizations elections to plant trade union officers have already been held. The elections are taking place in a good socio-political atmosphere. The principles of union statutes and self-government are being consistently adhered to.

The climate for the growth of trade union activities is steadily improving. To be sure, at some plants, attempts to boycott the new trade union movement and discredit it still continue, but the influence of the political opposition on the attitude of the workforces is steadily declining. This is demonstrated by the fact alone that 216 new plant trade unions have been formed in the last 3 months and that union membership has increased by about 24,000 during the same period.

Recently, tendencies to form supra-plant trade-union structures have been observed. In Lublin Province the related activities were undertaken by trade unions at metalworking and metallurgical plants as well as in education, health service, socialized agriculture and food management, telecommunications, transport and public transit (PKS [State Motor Transport] and MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise]), light industry, construction, mines and the railroads.

The Executive Board expressed its appreciation of the steadily growing number of trade union activists as well as of the civic aktiv of the information-advisory commissions for trade union affairs.

The Board also accepted a number of proposals intended to further develop and strengthen the trade-union movement, on especially stressing the need to increase activism and the related role of party members.

The next item on the agenda was a report on the implementation of recommendations made by the Board at its session on 24 March of last year concerning the work of party organizations in health service. It was found that the performance of these organizations has since then markedly improved, but some of them still fail to display sufficient activism, particularly as regards conducting party training and shaping proper ideological-political and ethical-moral attitudes. Local echelons of the PZPR should display greater concern for these organizations,



analyze more often the performance of POP executive boards, and tighten the contacts with their secretaries.

It was found that most of the recommendations adopted last year are of a long-range nature.

These recommendations remain topical, and hence party organizations in health service, as well as local party echelons, commissions for public health and environmental safety, and the Administrative Department of the Province Committee should continue their activities in behalf of implementing them.

#### Anti-Inflation, Economizing Program

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 83 p 2

[Unsigned article: "In Biala Podlaska: Evolution of the First Stage in the Introduction of Anti-Inflation and Conservation Programs" under the rubric "Deliberations of Executive Boards of Province PZPR Committees"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION) At its session yesterday the Executive Board of the Biala Podlaska PZPR Committee discussed the course of the first stage in introducing anti-inflation and conservation programs at work establishments in Lublin Province. It also considered the findings of an inspection of the utilization of farmland in Biala Podlaska Province./

It was found that basic party echelons have played a major role in initiating and drafting conservation and anti-inflation programs. The first plants, relatively speaking, to draft and adopt the assumptions for such programs were: /Public Road Divisions in Biala Podlaska, Parczewo and Miedzyrzec Podlaski, the Chalk Works in Kornica, and all departments of the PKS [State Motor Transport]. The coordinating activities of the Province Office are to be positively assessed./

On the other hand, delays occurred in the adoption of anti-inflation and conservation measures at some province associations which have been tardy in providing the related guidelines to their subordinate organizations. This concerns chiefly /the Province Association of Housing Cooperatives, the Province Association of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations, the Province Association of Producer Cooperatives and the Province Association of Labor Cooperatives./

Owing to the activities to promote the introduction of conservation and anti-inflation programs through the mediation of basic party organizations (POPs), basic party echelons, regional centers of party work and the province party echelon, it is possible by now to speak of the ending of the first stage in the development of specific programs of this kind for the plants. These activities are both short-term and long-term in nature, requiring certain financial outlays.

At some enterprises and institutions anti-inflation and conservation programs are beginning to be implemented in tandem with refinements in incentive systems or the introduction of new measures producing measurable effects. /This may be exemplified by the Radzyn Podlaski division of the PKS, where a total of 250,000 zlotys has been set aside this year for rewarding employees in particular

departments and jobs who implement the division's anti-conservation and inflation programs so as to produce specified financial effects./

It is a characteristic fact, as stated in the discussion, that enterprises and institutions which drafted and began to implement plant conservation and anti-inflation programs relatively early have already achieved concrete effects. /This may be exemplified by the ELREMET Cooperative of the Disabled in Biala Podlaska, where, despite the reductions in prices, about 680,000 zlotys was economized, and the "Jednosc" [Unity] Cooperative in Janow Podlaski, which introduced a type of production based on waste raw and other materials.

#### Party Secretary Views

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Czeslaw Staszczak, First Secretary of the Biala Podlaska Province PZPR Committee, by Wieslawa Jankowska: "Effective Measures"]

[Text] [Question] The question of how to act effectively is increasingly often asked in party publicistics these days. It is also being considered by all party elements, from the PZPR Central Committee to the basic party organization. Comrade secretary, I was told that the Biala Podlaska party organization is passing the test in exercising its leading role by undertaking the most topical and socially difficult tasks. I make bold to state that in your province these tasks include problems of health service, education and culture.

[Answer] In 1975, when this province was formed, its territorial components formerly known under the name of powiats [counties] had been tardy in many domains. We are among the regions which have not been reached by the blessings of the so-called investment boom. The absence of industrialization and the weakness of the socialized sector of agriculture in our province resulted in underdevelopment of the social infrastructure. Hence overcoming this lag has been the ambition and constant desire of the province's population.

How can one act otherwise than guide meeting the social needs and pose the related issues as a most important task to the party, the state administration, all social organizations and, lastly, the entire society. This direction of our activity has from the very outset met not only with understanding and goodwill but also--what is most prized by the province party organization--with general approbation by the public in our province. The needs of health service were most urgent and imperative.

[Question] As I recall, the Biala Podlaska Province had been among the lowest-ranking in the statistical tables of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, prepared in connection with the changes in the country's administrative division. Thus the beginning was not easy....

[Answer] Yes, indeed. In 1975, while the state of health care facilities in Losice and Parczewo was relatively fair, in the other cities it was extremely poor. To be sure, work to complete the construction of hospitals in Biala Podlaska and Radzyn had been continued, but few if any believed that it would be completed on schedule in view of the sluggish pace of construction and the obvious lack of interest in these matters. The basic health care facilities in town and country also left very much to be desired. It is thus nothing surprising that since the

mid-1970s these issues dominated the discussion of the future shape of the province's future and were considered at nearly every plenum of the Province PZPR Committee, at meetings with the society and at meetings of basic party organizations. Thus the province party organization faced the task of assigning proper importance to health service problems, to the protection of public health. This has produced marked effects.

[Question] Yes. Nowadays they are known nearly throughout Poland. After all, it is not easy to make up for many years of neglect within a few years; it is not easy to accomplish the leap you made on the recent table of the Ministry of Health.

[Answer] We all--the province party echelon, the entire province population and I personally--are extremely gratified by the accomplishments in health service. Let me begin with the facilities. During the 1974-1982 period a hospital with more than 350 beds was built in Radzyn Podlaski together with an outpatient clinic, emergency room and ambulance service, and local mobile sanitation column facilities. This truly modern center, in which we all so rejoice, admitted the first patients in February of this year. During 1975-1982 a circuit outpatient clinic and an inter-plant outpatient clinic were built in Miedzyrzec Podlaski, along with two public health care centers in Biala Podlaska. Last year an office building, originally designed for the Province Office, was adapted to accommodate a stomatological clinic. As part of construction by housing cooperatives, two rayon child care clinics were built in Biala Podlaska. Decisions were taken to modernize the hospital in Losice and build a new hospital in Miedzyrzec Podlaski.

[Question] Have the postulates of rural party organizations concerning the expansion of rural health care also been implemented?

[Answer] Of course. During the years 1975-1982 gmina [parish] health centers were built in the following villages in our province: Debowa Kloda, Hanna, Kodon, Komarowka, Kornica, Piszczac, Platerow, Sarnaki, Suchowola, Tuczna, Ulan and Wisznice. It is worth noting that all these new health centers also provide housing for medical personnel. In addition, the health center in Zalesie has been expanded and new comfortable accommodations were provided for pharmacies in Kodon, Komarowka, Miedzyrzec, Piszczac and Sarnaki. Further, new pharmacies were established in Hanna, Kornica, Platerow, Radzyn and Tuczna and provided with good accommodations. And also, before I forget, a building for professional medical studies together with a boarding home was erected in Parczewo, along with a pavillion for blood donation and a laboratory for the production of infusion fluids. Further, three housing blocks were built in Parczewo for health service employees.

[Question] Comrade secretary, I feel as if I were talking with a province physician. Now I understand why, at a regional health service conference, someone said: "If I only were working in the atmosphere and interest surrounding my colleague from Biala Podlaska, if I only were to receive the assistance he receives, those health centers would long ago be released for use."

[Answer] Now it is fairly easy to report on what has been done, but I need not emphasize that behind every new health center, pharmacy or clinic there lie tremendous human efforts--and that not only the efforts of the builders or the health service administration but also the civic efforts of many people. It may

be gratifying that the construction of health service centers has stimulated a revival in the activities of basic party organizations and social forces in various communities. Health service, public health, is a topic which concerns and interests everyone, because our work in this field is in behalf of ourselves and our children and grandchildren.

[Question] And yet, not so long ago, a major argument in the attacks on the province authorities and attempts to discredit them was the claim that anything but health service facilities was being built. Suffice it to peruse clippings from 'SZTANDAR LUDU' in order to revive this issue.

[Answer] But let us be precise. The affair concerned solely the erection of the new edifice of the PZPR Province Committee. At the time, that was a very fashionable argument. After all, on the national scale, 32 new provinces had been created in which, through new investments or through adaptation, the administrative facilities were geared to the changed needs. These facilities were not as modest everywhere as in our Biala Podlaska. A signal to the province authorities, pointing to the need to reexamine their intentions and reappraise the expediency of that project, was provided by the opinions voiced by the party aktiv during the campaign preceding the 8th PZPR Congress. It was only at a later period that certain Solidarity activists had seized upon this topic, exploiting it as a powerful argument in their attack against the authorities. We transferred the building to the disposal of the health service, and this was not a gesture but a conscious choice.

[Question] I have been told that you allocate for health service 20 percent of the investment outlays in the local budget.

[Answer] The needs are still vast, but the intentions also are of considerable magnitude. The construction of a hospital with more than 600 beds in Biala Podlaska is being continued. This project also includes the construction of an outpatient clinic and emergency room with ambulances. The hospital is to be completed in 2 years while the completion of the clinic is scheduled within the present year. The construction of the province specialist clinic--that "forced" one, i.e. the one housed in the building originally destined for the PZPR Province Committee--is continuing. The adaptation of that building is handled by a Polonia-run company, "International" [Polonia = here, Westerners of Polish origin who invest in Polish enterprises]. It is hoped that this work will be completed by the end of the first quarter of next year. In addition, a circuit clinic is being built in Losice, along with rayon clinics in Terespol and Miedrzyszec, an apartment building for health service employees in Radzyn, and gmina health centers in Olszanka and Huszlew. Further, a school building in Kostomloty is being adapted to a social services building, and so on. Last year, the outlays on health service investments totaled 356 million zlotys, whereas this year they are scheduled to reach half a billion.

[Question] Owing to such a scale of investments, the construction of new health centers along with housing for medical personnel, you have attracted many physicians and nurses to Biala Podlaska....

[Answer] We are building health centers and hospitals on bearing in mind the housing needs of medical personnel. Please note that in the last few years health service employees were allocated 200 dwellings in our province. We are building additional housing blocks and "drawing" toward us specialists, young physicians,



and personnel with medium-level medical training. We wish to avert any possible personnel shortages following the completion of the new hospital, clinic and health centers.

[Question] Our conversation on medical matters so far indicates that we could continue it much longer in view of the numerous accomplishments made in this field during recent years. Comrade secretary, have you heard of the opinion that the expansion of health service is taking place at the expense of other equally important social issues--at the expense of education and culture?

[Answer] I am familiar with opinions of this kind, but one cannot solve every problem all at once. At the moment of creation of Biala Podlaska Province, its system of elementary schools consisted of 300 rural and 16 urban schools. It is worth noting that that had been a period of intense preparations for the 10-Year Plan. During that period it was necessary not only to carry out organizational and program changes but also to adapt the existing facilities rapidly to the qualitatively new needs. A network of combined gmina schools was being established, with all the complications ensuing therefrom. For example, this required transfers of pupils and personnel, shutdowns of smaller schools, the extension of preschool education to all 6 years old children. During the past 8 years, in addition to the construction of new facilities in Parczewo and the first stage of School No 2 in Biala Podlaska, as well as in addition to the modernization and expansion of the existing educational facilities, the most evident changes to the better have occurred in the improved availability of furniture and scientific equipment and teaching aids in schools. The state of sanitation and hygiene as well as social conditions have markedly improved, particularly in combined gmina schools.

To meet the actual needs voiced by the public, we greatly alleviated the problem of preschool education; owing to the construction of new facilities and adaptation of existing buildings, we increased by 36 the number of preschools. In 1975 we had been able to provide preschool care to only 3,296 children, whereas now nearly 5,400 children attend preschools. The situation in this respect is best in cities where, in general, the needs are balanced with the possibilities for meeting them. We achieved a major step forward, considering that we had started nearly from the scratch, in specialized education. Actually, we provided 234 exceptional children with the chance to complete elementary school and learn a trade as well. Various changes also took place in the supra-elementary school system. In addition to adapting the curricula of existing schools to the needs of the province, new fields of studies were introduced, including two post-lyceum medical majors.

[Question] Against the background of the new demographic peak, these needs are much greater. What is being done in this respect?

[Answer]. The need to expand educational facilities is arising. Some elementary schools are even now literally bursting at the seams. Instruction in two or more shifts prevails at nearly every urban school, lasting not infrequently from 0700 to 1800 hours. This is to the disadvantage of extracurricular activities, which are so inseparably linked to the functions of the socialist school. We thus continue to rely on public support of our initiatives. It should be clearly stated that without help from the public, without its contribution of civic work, we will be unable to cope with the growing needs.

[Question] In such a situation, the function of the school as a center of culture in the community is declining....

[Answer] This function was predicated on the premise of supporting specialized cultural centers. Many schools, particularly rural ones, are fulfilling this role properly. This is important, particularly under our conditions, because the cultural facilities available to our rural communities are less than modest. The situation is somewhat better in cities. In practice, every urban center contains at least a modest cultural facility. We are completing "historic construction projects" such as the house of culture in Miedzyszyrzec, and mention should also be made of the repair of existing facilities. The recreational building of the BIAWENA Wool Industry Plants (ZPW) in Biala Podlaska has been released for use, and the so-called Cultural Center has been established within the palace complex after the Province Office had moved out of it. I wish to add that an extremely ambitious plan has been drafted for popularizing culture during the 1983-1985 period. Its implementation--after, in my opinion, many of its premises will have to be adjusted to actual needs--will provide the province's population with much greater access to the achievements of national culture.

[Question] Let us return to the principal topic of present-day activities of the party--the question of how should the party lead? Much has already been done, but the needs are tremendous, especially in education. What are the intentions of the province party organization in this respect?

[Answer] There had been a period of complete mobilization to meet the needs of health protection for the population, whereas now we must, through united effort of society, tackle the issues of education and culture. This is the principal subject of our party activities--and these activities are important to the entire society. It can thus be expected that, as had been the case with health protection issues, these activities will meet with the complete support and understanding of the entire population of our province.

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## KATOWICE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Executive Board on Post Office and Telecommunications

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by AM: "Developmental Trends in Post Office and Telecommunications. Organization of Party Training"]

[Text] Continuing the discussion of the problems regarding conditions of developing the social infrastructure in Katowice Province, at last night's plenary meeting the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee reviewed information on trends in post office and telecommunications development in the region up to 1985. Also a subject of the session was information on the degree of implementation of directions, and forms and methods of operation of the Center for Ideological Education in the area of activating the work of ideological education adopted by the committee executive board in January 1983.

From information of the directorate of the District Post Office and Telecommunications in Katowice, it seems that the state of telecommunication continues to be unsatisfactory. An annual increase of 5000 to 7000 in number of subscribers is somewhat small in relation to growing needs. The number of applications for telephone installation will be approximately 150,000 by 1985. This situation is the result of a long-term inadequate capital investment in communications, and it is aggravated by inadequate production of equipment and cables.

According to the decision of the Minister of Communications, in the immediate future, in our region as well as in Warsaw, work will concentrate on the development of a telecommunications network. By 1985, the number of subscribers is expected to increase to approximately 20,000. Real improvement will occur only when efforts planned up to 1990 are realized, which will make approximately 96,500 new numbers possible.

The executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee accepted information indicating that the unsatisfactory state of public service in this area is the result not only of lack of capital, but also of an inadequate interest in fully exploiting existing facilities. The board called attention to the need of finding, regardless of capital investments, organizational solutions to streamlining service, specifically by activating postal points in new residential settlements.

In the information of the management of the Provincial Center for Ideological Education [WOKI], actions were presented that were aimed at increasing the level of organization of ideo-educational work in the provincial party organization. Thus far the organizational system of ideopolitical training has been determined. It includes WOKI centers for ideo-educational work in towns, town-villages, and villages. A project of basic tasks for plant centers and a system of selecting instructors and lecturers has been developed.

WOKI assists the directors of centers working in ideo-education by organizing workshops, leading study groups, inspecting employment in the area, and providing consultations and courses for action groups in the centers.

Improving the training of the educational action groups assembled by WOKI is promoted by enlisting personnel best prepared substantially and ideopolitically, that is, comrades from the PZPR system and members of government. The provincial committee executive board accepted the information and recommended continuation of work that had been started.

Note was made of information on participation of creative centers and professional art institutes of Katowice Province in Polish cultural life and in propagandizing Polish culture abroad, and of information on the actual situation in agriculture, and preparations for harvest work.

Jerzy Romanik, a miner from the Siemianowice mine and member of the Central Committee politburo participated in the meeting.

#### Increase Administration Control Over Employment

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by KF: "Provincial Defense Committee in Katowice"]

[Text] In Katowice on June 22 there was a serial meeting of the Provincial Defense Committee [WKO] chaired by the governor of Katowice Province, Division General Pilot Roman Paszkowski.

WKO was informed of the situation in employment and marketing in the province and of the conditions of the reform in light of regulations on combating parasitism. During the first 4 months of this year announced administrative personnel requirements averaged 67,000. At the same time, through April of this year 2900 people applied and 2800 were registered as unemployed. Nineteen hundred were given work, and 276 applications were directed to offices for exceptional cases.

In the discussion of the need to increase control of the government regional administrative organs over employment policies, attention was directed to the need to suit trade schooling to requirements and to increase labor efficiency.

In the second item of discussion, WKO was informed of and discussed the problem of meeting personnel requirements in education and evaluated the work and attitudes of administrative personnel in educational-training centers and of



teachers. It was specifically stated that owing to intensive political work with personnel, the crisis in education has been overcome, but that education requires further improvement, and schools should have active help in the process of socialistic education, mainly from parents of the children, youth organizations, and work places.

Information was also made available about preparations for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Polish Peoples' Army.

WKO was given information on the work of the Commission of Special Action in Katowice Province, and many practical suggestions were made concerning its future activity.

Colonel Ryszard Szuster, WKO deputy, and Provincial Commandant of the Citizens' Militia [MO], presented information on the political situation, the safety status, and public order in Katowice Province during June. WKO expressed appreciation for the work of all the services that provided security during the pope's visit to Katowice.

Administrative personnel of the provincial party organizations and political partisans of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] as well as representatives of workers participated in the meeting.

#### Plenum on Regional Farming Conditions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2-3 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Creating Progressive Agricultural Conditions in the Industrial Area"]

[Text] The joint plenum of the PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees in Katowice on Friday, 1 July 1983, was dedicated to the effective implementation of resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee as a condition for further development of agriculture and a more adequate satisfying of food requirements of the province.

Presiding over the discussions were: Zbigniew Messner, member of the Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Katowice and Marian Karasek, president of the ZSL Provincial Committee; participants included: Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Prof Boleslaw Struzek, member of the presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee; Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the SD Provincial Committee in Katowice; and Wieslaw Nowicki, chairman of the PRON Provincial Committee.

The plenum was the next essential stage of long-term collaboration of the two political units and their extensive social-economic action groups. This collaboration has as its purpose the appropriate shaping of agricultural policy suited to the needs of Katowice Province, which requires particular efforts in undertaking and carrying out tasks and close daily cooperation in the difficult specific situation of agriculture in a highly industrial region.

The joint report of the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee and the presidium of the ZSL Provincial Committee was read by Jan Rachwalik, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

The report maintained that implementing decisions of the joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee adopted for the conditions of Katowice Province is the broad political task for society as a whole, the purpose of which is to break the stereotype that our region is obligated to supplying the national economy only with heavy industrial production. Without diminishing the primary significance of industrial production, it is necessary to make society conscious of the fact that important industrial achievements cannot be paid for by losses in other branches, especially in agriculture.

The report stressed the propriety of the directions of agricultural development and food control worked out in previous years. In the years 1981 and 1982 they were not taken seriously or at best, they were amended. The principle of developing cooperative and state farms was also confirmed.

Activities connected with directing land management are carried out in accord with the principle: "Land is for those who make the best use of it." The period just past is evidence that taking over of land by the cooperative-state sector has a socioeconomic basis. Equal rights of access to land will continue to be assured to all agricultural sectors. Here a more efficient approach to the problem of land consolidation is needed.

No less important a task is preservation of the land. The effect of economic reform on the process of directing and intensifying production in the cooperative and state sectors was evaluated positively. It is necessary, however, to return to cooperation between the cooperative-state sector and individual farmers, which has been neglected in recent years.

In discussing the results of agricultural production in Katowice Province, it was determined that production of vegetables is profitable, and especially good results under difficult soil conditions were obtained with yields of the four grains. The plan for buying grain has not, however, been fully implemented. For further intensification of vegetable production investments are necessary in the area of melioration and recultivation. Reserves lie in a more rational exploitation of artificial fertilizers.

In animal production there is a drop in heads of cattle and swine. Arresting this trend and then rebuilding the basic herd as well as a further increase in vegetable production are essential tasks for all management personnel and for services that supply agriculture. Also needed is a more energetic resolving of the problem of supplying the villages with water.

The report indicated that in spite of many suggestions for increasing production for agriculture in the industrial plants, not all party units and state organizations appreciate this need. Closer ties between village trade and the producers are needed also. The specifics of the region's agriculture, with a predominance of small farms, requires mechanisms that would stimulate production now; in the future economic regulations will be the main factor shaping further progress in the village.

The report stressed that one of the most urgent tasks is adapting the potential and structure of the agricultural-food industry, highly underinvested in Katowice Province, to conditions and needs of the region.

Stressing that political action of PZPR and ZSL activists was needed, the report stated that we are at a specific stage of implementing the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress. The joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee created a political plane for further complete recovery of credibility of the authorities, and the legislative and executive decisions rendered recently are an emphatic expression of the effectiveness of action.

Also, in order to function properly, economic reform must be inculcated into food production. Against the backdrop of these problems, it is apparent that much political work must still be done in the village. Party units must be prepared as well as possible to undertake this work during the fall-winter period.

In carrying out the political motivating-control function, PZPR and ZSL units must stress the need of giving greater attention to work with local government in the village. It is necessary primarily to undertake political work with PZPR or ZSL members working in the local government or in the cooperatives.

The PRON centers play an equally important role in the integration of the village community. The task of these units is concern for involving activists and nonparty people who are respected in the locality in this movement.

Neither should the large number of heads of hamlets be neglected in this political work. Based on the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee, work must be done with youth.

The political task is to create a new model of association between workers and peasants which must be based on commonality of interests of both classes. An equally important matter in political action is control over implementing political decisions regarding agriculture.

At this point, Jozef Zbieszczyk, member of the Presidium of the ZSL Provincial Committee and vice governor of Katowice Province, presented the program for development of the agricultural-food industry in Katowice Province to 1990.

Participating in the discussion were Tadeusz Iskrzycki, member of the Central Committee, director of the state farms combine, Leszczyna; Jozef Serafin, member of the Supreme Committee, president of RSP in Pietrowice Wielkie; Aleksander Cwikala, first secretary of City Committee-G in Pszczyno; Piotr Wycislik, president of the City Committee in Ruda Slaska; Mieczyslaw Brachman, president of the Rural Commune Cooperative in Lubomia; Manfred Grabowski, director of the dolomite plants in Bytom; Stanislaw Horak, member of the executive board of the Provincial Committee in Katowice; Zdzislaw Slomski, a farmer from Wolbromie; Boleslaw Szarek, first secretary of the City Committee in Zawiercie; Maciej Liberski, president of M-GK in Myslowice; Jozef Przybylik, president of Rural Commune Cooperative in Pilica; Jozel Luzar, farmer from Krzanowice; Stanislaw Byrdy, director of the Institute of Organic Industry in Pszczyna; Marian

Cieslik, miner from the Marcel mine; and Stanislaw Klimek, vice chairman of the provincial administration of ZMW. An additional 12 persons were quoted in the minutes.

Subjects touched on by the discussants included payment for agricultural production, particularly in the context of new prices for goods purchased and predicted increase in cost of machinery and equipment and specific conditions under which farmers in Katowice Province work. Much was said about the implementation of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee, and in this context, about the rights and responsibilities of all agricultural sectors. Some discussants proposed concrete motions, for example, setting up local recultivation enterprises that would make it possible to exploit funds in accounts, and concrete achievements at the village level.

Holeslaw Struzek, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Agriculture and the Food Control, addressed the problem of payment for agricultural production questioned in the statements of many discussants. He said that farmers cannot count on an ideal equilibrium between the purchase prices and the cost of production supplies.

This matter was also addressed by Zbigniew Michalek in his statement; he gave specific examples of what will be in equilibrium with what and what kind of production will yield large profits and what kind, small profits. The secretary of the Central Committee gave much attention to the discussion of the implementation of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. He indicated the political aspects of this plenum, the common goals of both the party and the partisans, stressed the equality under the law of all agricultural sectors, both in work and in responsibilities, and indicated the important role of self-government organization in the village.

Agriculture needs means of production and if agriculture wants to have these means, then it cannot dictate prices to industry. Price freezing for machinery and equipment would mean a blockade of production; industry would concentrate on what is profitable. And this could have a fatal effect on agricultural development.

Zbigniew Michalek spoke at length on the specifics of Katowice agriculture, appreciating at the same time its unquestionable achievements.

The meeting unanimously adopted a joint resolution. In the last section of the joint plenum, Marian Karasek, president of the ZSL Provincial Committee said: "Farmers are fully conscious of the great contribution of workers to the development of food production; they know how important exploitation in practice of legal, institutional and material conditions is in this area. A new kind of allied worker-peasant relation is developing, a new kind of cooperative partnership of PZPR and ZSL. In implementing the joint resolution, everyone must actively make his presence felt."

The last point of discussions concerned organizational matters of the PZPR Provincial Committee. Members of the Provincial Committee accepted the meeting agenda proposed for the second half-year by the executive board of the PZPR



Provincial Committee as well as the agenda for serial plenary discussions. The motion of Ryszard Gierulski to remove him from the board due to his transfer to work on construction in Iraq was passed, and changes were made in the composition of the Commission on the Economy.

The plenum concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

Resolution of the Joint Plenary Session of the PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees on the Development of Agriculture and Food Control in Katowice Province

I. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees, meeting in joint session, confirm their partnership based on principles of worker-peasant cooperation in efficient implementation of the resolution of the 11th joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee in the development of the village and of agriculture as well as on attainment of national self-sufficiency with respect to food.

II. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees accept the report of the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee and the presidium of the ZSL Provincial Committee and recognize the conditions contained in it as guidelines for action in the sphere of food control.

Under the conditions in Katowice Province, the most important tasks are:

--preservation of agricultural land, exploitation of land and water resources, and improvement in land rotation;

--catching up with delays in improvement and recultivation in agricultural and forest lands, providing village farms with water and solving the problem of effluents in the villages. The possibility must also be created for supporting community initiatives in the villages during this period;

--elimination of negative consequences of industrial development. Recultivation of degraded lands, decrease in dust and smoke emissions, and elimination of mining damage must be forcefully carried out; and through resources of the industry that causes these negative effects;

--elimination of food losses at all points from producer to consumer, subordinating to this problem organizational economic solutions and directions of investment in agriculture and the agricultural-food industry;

--improvement in the state of services in the sphere of agricultural production, primarily in the production of vegetables, conservation of pastures, preservation of livestock, and broadly interpreted social-existential services;

--elevating the level of qualification of personnel in plants and in agriculture, introducing progress in agriculture, organization of agricultural consultation. Action in this area must proceed in the direction of increasing scope and effectiveness;

--further development of workers' garden plots.

III. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees are leading a broad discussion, "Programatic Bases for Development of Agriculture and Food Control to 1990," and oblige the provincial PZPR and ZSL councils to introduce this program into discussions in the Provincial People's Council.

IV. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees recognize that an important factor in the realization of joint agricultural policy is the activation of the village community by reinforcing various forms of its self-government. It is the duty of PZPR and ZSL members to participate actively in the actions of social-occupational organizations of farmers, and self-governments of cooperatives and of labor. Important tasks in this sphere also confront all ZSMP and AMW organizations.

V. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees recommend that their members, through active participation in the activities of village centers of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, influence the actions that are stimulating social economic life in the villages of our province.

VI. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees appeal to the personnel of industrial plants in Katowice Province to exploit all potential capacities for increasing production of goods intended for agriculture and food production.

VII. The PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees obligate all units at the basic level to systematically implement joint programs that insure the realization of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee.

VIII. The plenum of the PZPR and the ZSL Provincial Committees expresses the conviction that further improvement in cooperation between members of PZPR and ZSL at all levels is a condition for achieving the stated goals and strengthening the worker-peasant association, and serves the cause of a socialist fatherland.

ZSL Provincial Committee

PZPR Provincial Committee

Katowice, 1 July 1983

#### Katowice Party Secretary Comments

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Jul 83 pp 1, 5

[Interview of Z. Michalek, CC secretary, by Hanna Smolanska: "We Calculate Carefully"]

[Text] Following the joint plenum of the PZPR and ZSL Provincial Committees in Katowice, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA interviewed Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee.

[Question] Harvest time has come, and rapeseed is being mowed. How will this year's harvest be?

[Answer] I don't know. Who can predict this these days? There are so many factors that affect the quantity and quality of harvests.

[Question] String is in short supply again, Comrade Secretary...

[Answer] It is. On my own state farm in Glubczyce it's also in short supply.

[Question] Are you still the director of this farm?

[Answer] Yes. Immediately after the plenum I'm going there to see how my comrades in work are.

[Question] And am I to believe that the agriculture secretary of the Central Committee can't provide string for the harvest?!

[Answer] He can and he would, but he doesn't want to. He wants to save that 30 million zlotys.

[Question] How's that?

[Answer] We will harvest without string. An automatic harvester trailer such as is used for hay, green fodder, and straw will take it straight to the blowers.

[Question] Since we are talking about expenses, about cost ratios, there is the question: Will the farm be profitable with the new pricing structure?

[Answer] We've already computed that. After deducting the cost of fuel, we will clear 96 million zlotys.

[Question] Will others also clear that much?

[Answer] I can't be responsible for the calculations of others. On the Glubczyce farm grain harvests reach 48 hundredweight per hectare. We will feel the price increase, but we have good production results.

[Question] Do you believe, comrade secretary, that higher prices will have an effect on production level?

[Answer] Obviously, it will pay to continue to increase production because the costs of production will be going up also. In the past it happened that prices increased, but costs of production were frozen, so that a greater profit could be gained from less production.

[Question] The new price schedule clearly favors grain. Why?

[Answer] Because we have to make a choice -- meat or grain; we cannot repeat the mistakes of the former team that wanted to raise the level of animal production at the cost of huge imports. Now we have to give that up. It is quite

obvious that the more grain we buy, the greater will be the supply of fodder for agriculture. Having something with which to bake bread, we will import mainly fodder grains, which are significantly cheaper on the world market. On such changes in import ratios -- covering the purchase of 3 million tons of grain -- we would save \$100 million.

[Question] This sounds very convincing, but not to everybody. You always meet farmers, and you know that in the opinion of many farmers the new costs of machinery and equipment nullify the effects of price increases. Could you try to convince people that this is otherwise?

[Answer] Very well. Let us take an average farm of 10 hectares, and let us assume that from the grain sown on half of this area the farmer will get an additional 16,500 zlotys from 1 July, that is, from 5 hectares he receives 82,000 zlotys. From the rest of the area however -- since this could be in root crops or other crops -- he receives approximately 60 percent of this amount. This gives him a total of 130,000 zlotys. Where then is this price piracy? Is a tractor bought every year or every 5 years?

[Question] Do you always carry this calculator with you?

[Answer] Life has taught me; I defend myself from demagoguery, from unfounded accusations.

[Question] Of what type?

[Answer] For example, the accusation that I represent the interests of the village. To prove that he was right, my adversary used a...can.

[Question] The one which you discussed at the plenum?

[Answer] Exactly. The same can that once cost about 300 zlotys and now costs about 1,500.

[Question] That's a great difference...

[Answer] True? I couldn't believe it! But later I figured out how many days this can must work for its price. It came to 35 days. And it certainly doesn't stand empty the other 300 days of the year.

[Question] Prices jump somewhat suddenly and somewhat quickly, and after 1 January new bases for agricultural tax are supposed to go into effect. They will favor good managers. And what will happen to the poorer managers? There are rumors that they will be fired.

[Answer] Please don't believe that. The tax proposals are at present under consultation. If the tax will actually begin to threaten the smaller and weaker farms, then corrections will have to be made.

[Question] And how do you see the supply of equipment to farms, that is, not only large machinery, but small equipment? At the plenum you said that Vice Premier Szalajda could not buy a pitchfork in Glubczyce.



[Answer] Yes, later someone, with reference to supply inconsistencies, asked me if the vice premier couldn't by chance buy a pitchfork in Warsaw. Let's put joking aside. There is no problem with pitchforks; there is likewise no problem with scythes. A good number of shortages have already been eliminated.

[Question] In conclusion, let us return to the macro scale. You spoke at the Katowice meetings on implementation of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Provincial Committee. What guarantees are there that the resolution will continue to be effectively implemented?

[Answer] We will see to that. Once a year the implementation of the resolution will be discussed at a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. Also very important in its effective implementation is the fact that the minister of agriculture and food control presented to the Sejm a program for development of agriculture and food control to 1990. All of our plans and intentions will therefore proceed from this program which will be controlled by the highest organ of state authority.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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## PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

### Public Drive For Reform

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 7 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Lucjan Pracki: "An Extended Start"]

[Text] Workers' Self-Government - Public Drive for Reform

The opinion of the parliamentary team, which prepared a current evaluation of the implementation of the economic reform under the direction of Prof Alojz Melicka for the Sejm, is in agreement with current feelings. The reform has not yet sufficiently created the forceful mechanisms of pressure for the growth and efficiency of production. It also has not evoked the desired changes in workers' attitudes and has not produced the proper demands for workers' initiatives. It is an issue of time and further improvements in the principle of economic activity.

To a large measure, it is also an issue of the quality of the work of workers' self-government, which provisionally is supposed to perform the role of the reform's public drive wheel, but is only with the end of martial law coming, more or less, into its own. Actual participation by the workforces in administering the enterprises is taking many shapes; this is how it has been evaluated at a recent meeting of the Commission of Representative Agencies and Self-Government with the party central committee.

In several plants, self-government, for different reasons, has not been able to constitute itself, elect workers' councils or renew activities. For those directors who are not very enthusiastic about self-government, this could be convenient. The application of the reform takes place outside of them, and, to some extent, half-heartedly; at best, this might lead to brief and partial results. This is not a standard or healthy situation. In the opinion of the central committee commission the workforces of these plants should be accorded more assistance by party organizations and echelons, as well as by provincial commissions and consultation agencies.

Self-government has already begun operations in the majority of the enterprises, and in many of them, things are going quite well. There is a large number of examples of people adopting the necessary initiatives on the better utilization

of production capacity, the increase of organizational work efficiency, the halting of increases in processing costs and prices, and the thrifty management of resources and material. These experiences prove that self-government can exert additional influence on the introduction of the reform and a gradual increase in enterprise labor efficiency.

It happens, however, that self-government is also not working to full effect. This is so because current reform principles have not required a greater effort. It was stated at the meeting that workers' councils have joined the efforts to work out plant economization and anti-inflation programs on the basis of known government programs. But they were guided by a greater civic good will and social attitude, and not by a hard economic order requiring effective management.

Certain, unfavorable phenomena are still resulting because of a weak understanding of the reform principles. Some self-governments distributed, for instance, profits among the workforce, leaving little or nothing for the development of their plants. This might have a high price if it turns that, in the face of tight money, the bank refuses credits for machine purchases after the plants' funds have already been spent.

There are instances of particularism, the relinquishment of important production for market supply, the overestimation of prices for products, the shortage of concern for product quality, and the raising of premiums on the basis of equality and not because of work productivity. It also happens that a self-government will adopt a plan in contradiction with the central plan, thus leading to such a growth in material, personnel and production expenditures that the plan is unrealistic and ineffective from the start. Who, if not the enterprise and its workforce, will bear the costs of such management when they can no longer be covered satisfactorily by raising the price of the final product?

As was emphasized at the meeting of the central committee commission, the state of economic knowledge and the familiarity with the reform principles need to be perfected. Otherwise, self-government activists will be unable to cope with the role of partner with the administration in managing the enterprises.

The central committee commission was in favor of the further and consistent implementation of the economic reform, and for self-government progress in its activities in accordance with legal provisions. It was also in favor of a permanent economic education program for the workforces and aktiv of the workers' councils and an extension of public counseling to be implemented by commissions and consultation centers, as well as by designated organizations. These goals are to be most energetically supported by party echelons and organizations, the members of which make up to around 30 percent of the membership of self-government agencies. This is even more necessary since self-government is not enthusiastically endorsed everywhere by administrations, and, in some places, becomes an object to be manipulated by political opponents.

Against this background, the proposals adopted during the discussion become fundamental; namely, that after the example of the Sejm, which appointed the commission to look after the progress of self-government, it should be the

government which establishes its own agency to coordinate the joint activity of the administrations with self-government elements. There is good precedence for this: the Committee of the Council of Ministers on Professional Trade Union Affairs; this committee played a positive role in the unions' reactivation. After all, much depends on the relation of state and economic administrations to the idea of self-government.

#### Self-Government At Nowa Sol Plant

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Wlodarczak: "Self-Government At Odra"]

[Text] "It is a fact that a self-government cannot currently fire a director outright. On the other hand, the so-called removal of a director should not be cause for satisfaction for any clear-thinking workforce member. Rather, these should be good cooperation with management. In the end, we represent the interest of the enterprise." This is how Zbigniew Doros, the chairman of the Workers' Council in the Nowa Sol Odra Factory, answered the question on the significance of self-government activity under the conditions imposed by martial law. He immediately added: "In the end, it is no achievement if any kind of opposition camps exist in the plant. On the contrary, we are talking about the fruitful cooperation of all enterprise agencies."

The Workers' Council at Odra began its legal activity relatively late. Only at the end of March were any elections held, and in April, the first meeting of the council. The division of the welfare fund was approved then. Inasmuch as the acting commission had passed the test during martial law, a similar commission was established with the Workers' Council to distribute holidays and apartments, and to facilitate other issues. The existence of a social commission afterwards with the workers' council and not with the professional trade unions is explained by the fact that the self-government is particularly the proper representative of the workforce because it has the trust of the people.

Later, the council approved the enterprise's annual plan and the plant economization program.

"For the time being, people are enthusiastic about working in the self-government," boasts the boss of the cotton thread department.

"People are interested in what is going on in the enterprise. In the end, they can live because of it; it gives them their jobs."

Edward Romanowski, director of administration and trade issues, adds: "We need the self-government. We need to consult with the workforce before we make many decisions. We can especially ascertain the workers' opinion through self-government."

For the time being, things are not going badly at Odra. The largest national producer of flax, synthetic and cotton thread is producing goods this year in



excess of 3 billion zlotys. The marketplace has little of this, however; most of it goes to supplying the clothing, knitting and leather industries or the cooperatives.

The enterprise could produce more than it does. Currently, there are sufficient materials. However, the real problem is a shortage of labor. At any time, Odra could hire 500-600 new workers. But people are not cuddling up to Odra. For one thing, work is not easy. It often lasts for three shifts. Secondly, wages are low. Other plants in Nowa Sol offer more and people leave here for them.

Odra earns almost 75 percent on its products.

Wlodzimierz Buczak, the chief book-keeper, explained: "In this way we want to raise the funds for plant modernization."

Fixed prices are determined by the price of thread. Beyond this, Odra is a monopoly when it comes to the production of thread. These facts would induce the firm to raise prices. So far, no one has questioned the basis of any of Odra's current prices. Besides, the plant's entire turnout is encompassed by government orders which create certain considerations, namely those of supply.

Edward Romanowski complains: "Priorities are not completely respected in deliveries. Declared improvements often exist only on paper. The same for other reform provisions. As before, it is tied to distribution to which we are subordinate. And not only the distribution of raw materials, but also of the final product."

Is growth in production worth it for the enterprise? What do individual workers get from it?

The chief book-keeper answers this question simply: "The total sum of our profit increases along with the growth in production. In the short run, the workers do not feel this immediately, inasmuch as funds for premiums are dependent on the net sales of production. With growth in production, these relations are improved. Transport costs are spread among a large number of production facilities. However, in the costs of production, materials and raw resources make up a large part of the costs in the production of thread. The possibility of finding reserves is limited." With considerable economization of material, an increase in labor productivity is currently the only possibility to increase wages.

There is really nothing to influence the influx of new workers, however. Even if the administration is "reduced". True, there was a review of plant employment with the result that every tenth administrator had to leave his office. Unfortunately, these people did not increase production. They left for other plants, probably for other offices.

The workers' council has a real problem on its hands: not to let any further workers leave the production lines. At the same time, there is not much which can attract them to the plant. Perhaps, an apartment in the rotation hotel can be allotted.

Even before the appointment of the self-government, Odra had joined the Association of Light Industry Enterprises, Polish Flax.

The boss of the self-government says: "We have not yet worked out our opinion on this subject. True, the association costs us 2 million zlotys annually, but thanks to our affiliation to the association, we have access to raw materials. Similar advantages are provided to us by our participation with the Textilimpex Limited Liability Company. The company has recently been involved in the import of cotton, chemicals and spare parts."

The workers' council also adopted the plant economization and anti-inflation program. It is the result of the efforts of several problem teams. Such programs are, however, nothing new. For years, the enterprises have been processing and implementing economization programs with varying degrees of success. How then does the new program differ from the previous ones?

Director Romanowski explains: "The program is very closely connected to life. The subjects are much more specific rather than general as it was in the past. The implementation of each goal is clearly defined, as well as personal responsibility. And what would we have were it not for this program? In spite of everything, we would have to economize, because a new economic system requires economization. In addition, we are thinking about wage increases."

Odra's economization program does not presuppose the achievement of any kinds of colossal economic results. More important will be the benefits to society. The replacement of raw materials leads to a reduction in the product's price. As they say, the plant has little reason to introduce such innovations. People are guided more by state interests rather than by the plant's. Here is one example. A kilogram of cotton thread is rather expensive, something between 1,200 and 1,700 zlotys. People often use it for package wrapping at the post office. And the post office buys it because there is nothing else. Meanwhile, it is a shame to use such expensive and hard-to-get cotton for such humdrum purposes. Odra plans to increase thread production closer to actual usage, but it wants to do this with local resources.

The issue of using local resources over imported resources ultimately has more profound implications. Thus Odra is making efforts to apply technology to the processing of string thread from Polish yarn. By eliminating imports, we will save around 150,000 dollars annually. This will reduce the price of thread which will also have an impact on profits. Odra's bosses, however, are entertaining doubts whether Polish yarn will be as good as the imported cotton, and if, in general, there will be continued supplies of it.

Professor Gilejko on Self-Government, Democracy

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 15 Jul 83 pp 4, 5

[Article by Leszek Gilejko: "Self-Government and Democracy"]

[Text] Main Contradictions Between Economics and Politics

It would be an exaggeration to say that the main social contradictions fall on a line between two spheres: economics and politics. On the other hand, it is a basic argument that this is an important group of contradictions, particularly under the conditions of a socialist society.

According to theoretical provisions, there is most often a dual dependency between these spheres. On the one hand, there is the well-known argument about the determination of social phenomena, including politics, with economics as a base. On the other hand, it was Lenin's position that politics had priority over economics because of an inherent law contained in the process of creating a socialist society. Without getting into these problems, even though they are important, it must be said that there is a close association between economics and politics in socialism and a mutual permeation of the economic and political systems. Of course, this does not mean that each of these fields and the systems associated with them do not have their own specifics and relative autonomy. Each is governed by its own laws, even though there are laws which dominate both spheres and their inner relations.

The classical example here are the well-known laws, cited by O. Lang as the basic sociological laws of relations and determining factors, the union and contradiction between the productive resources and the relations of production, as well as between the economic base and the social superstructure. This superstructure encompasses, after all, both basic political institutions and social consciousness. The key contradictions between economics and politics result from mutual determinations between the base and superstructure. The mechanism of these interactions is usually understood and interpreted so, that changes (either evolutionary or revolutionary) in the sphere of production relations and the social superstructure must be accompanied by a permanent change in the sphere of productive, material and social resources. The resistance of old structures, "localized" generally in the sphere of production relations and the superstructure, leads to the conflict of these processes even under socialism. The conflict can be considerable: the proof is the series of socioeconomic crises in our country.

And so, the first group of contradictions, if we are to broadly understand economics as the economic base and politics as the superstructure, is the result of those contradictions which inevitably occur between the subsystems of the social structure and progress itself. Their advancement is regarded as a factor of this progress; it is a necessary matter and has to refer to production relations (the basic social relations) and the social superstructure. As has been the case up until now, despite the controversies which undoubtedly exist, it is considered almost universally that the basic method here is the development of

socialization which is regarded as an ongoing process. The socialization process of the basic means of production at the highest stages of development is actually the socialization of the administration, i.e., the development of various forms of self-government in the spheres of production and economics. The resolution of this contradiction by nationalizing the economy of a society in general is also a phenomenon occurring universally. This solution is not considered to be effective. Thus, this all affects socialist society moreso, where political institutions of the superstructure play a key role in its creation, even though they are subject to petrification.

From here arises the repetitive Polish law that the economic crisis is caused by a political one, that politics are a crisis-causing agent. It is no accident that V. I. Lenin attached such great importance to the "necrosis" process of the state: experience proves how difficult and complicated this matter is. One can formulate the argument that the second important group of contradictions between economics and politics is made up of those which result from the kind of relationship between them. Essentially, this refers to the often discussed problem of the degree of autonomy of both spheres, especially the autonomy in economics. It also refers to the shape of politics, mainly to the degree of their democratization. Briefly put, the questions, which have been repeatedly answered, continue to be current.

They may be formulated as follows: is it a law of socialist development that far-reaching autonomy be the result of economics (its "ideologicalization" or apolitization), or, together with the development of socialism, politics must succumb to profound and elementary changes in order to reach a state where the "administration of people" becomes "the administration of things." After all, it is a process of democratization and of those forms of its development which result from social and economic requirements. Undoubtedly, the relation between economics and politics must change - this obviously touches mainly upon politics. Economics remain to a great extent the domain of necessities resulting from economic laws, the level of technology, the supplies of raw materials, etc.

Socialist development up until now, at least in Poland's case, particularly provides us with a lot of empirical material to define the interests of groups and people performing leadership duties under conditions of considerable centralization. From the records of the 1970s and then the analyses of the 1980 crisis, we have the concept of a "central planner" or "central decisionmaking center".

Its structure was created precisely by the party leadership (the Politburo or a part thereof) and by the government leadership (including the government presidium) within which there were obviously formal and informal differences in position. The central decisionmaking center, besides dividing specific authority, actually decided on the distribution of the national income. It also decided on the strategic nature of the economy, touching upon its development and goals. Of course, the central decisionmaking center, despite the more important decisions, generally did not make all the decisions on its own. Actually, these decisions were determined to a great extent by the play of different interest groups which to a greater or lesser extent exerted influence on the decisions of the center. It would be worth it to someday pursue



particularly the mechanics and total dramaturgy of this game in which, unfortunately, the institutions of political authority succumb to the corrupting influence of economics. The most important agency of political institutions, the party apparatus, which in accordance to doctrinal provisions should secure not only the system's cohesion, but also the development of the whole in a desired direction, is unavoidably beginning to succumb to the pressure of interest groups formed by economic conditions. In the course of economic development, without regard to effects, a numerically significant and increasingly influential administration group is the inevitable product of industrial civilization; it will, however, succumb simultaneously to the political apparatus' characteristic incapacitation. On the one hand, this group grew numerically significant in the 1970s as a result of the technological and organizational expansion; on the other hand, it was the result of the rejection of the concept of "peasant socialism," characteristic of a cult of asceticism needed to face the apparatus during the rule of Wladyslaw Gomulka. In the 1970s, the system of privileges became official policy encompassing various fields of life. It was a combination of bureaucracy and management; this was particularly dangerous for a socialist society at a medium level of development. Briefly put, one could argue that this was not political arrogance, also in no short supply, which was the cause of this crisis, but the characteristic alliance between the bureaucracy and management and the rise of a powerful formation encompassing key political and economic agencies with the understanding that, in our opinion, the economic apparatus would actually subordinate the political apparatus to itself. The introduction of party control on various levels of administration essentially intensified this process. This alliance became the "effective" factor in blocking the chances for the articulation and representation of "third partner" interests, i.e., workers' interests, as members of the working class. Such a state of affairs not only excludes the third partner, but cancels out the integration of the whole system, causes it to be dysfunctional and threatens great dangers.

#### Conflict Between "The World of Labor" and "The World of the Authorities" - The Phenomenon of 1980

We decided to refer back to the events of 1980 and to the workers' protest, but because of the reasons that the crisis itself is the exemplification of the above-mentioned arguments, it is also the basis for the discussion of another important problem; namely, the effects of the above-described situation and the integration of the economic and political apparatus according to a bureaucratic-management formula.

Of all the crises of postwar Poland, the current one possesses many specific features. The frustration of economic equilibrium, colossal indebtedness and, above all, the depth of the economic crisis are not its sole specific features. No less important is the fact that the 1980 crisis aimed to become a conflict between the authorities and a considerable segment of the society, above all, the working class and other working elements. Obviously, in each of the preceding crises this conflict was also present. But it never reached such dimensions or severity. It resulted because of the methods to extricate the country from the crisis of the late 1960s, specifically, in December 1970. After a brief period of equalizing the level of incomes and completing the

extensive claim solutions in production plants for the benefit of improving working conditions, a series of solutions appeared which essentially were regressive in relation to the 1960s. Here, we have to mention the work code which degraded the workers' position, despite increasing their vacation opportunities, and restricted the already insignificant rights of the trade unions. Another greatly consequential advancement was the changes which were made in the structure of the workers' self-government, i.e., the elimination of the workers' councils, even in the local agencies of authority. They reduced the advisory controlling duties of the people's councils. Finally, a third example of particularly important consequences was the entire process of involving the party in the immediate mechanism for managing the economy. Plant committee secretaries become chairmen of workers' self-government conferences with simultaneously shrinking roles for the self-government and a reduction in its function to approve decisions made outside the enterprise. Provincial, municipal and town committee secretaries became chairmen of people's councils with simultaneously placed restrictions on the powers of the councils with regard to governors and bosses; in a word, they became state administrators. Incidental, but still associated with this process was the call for the establishment of party secretaries and central committee and echelon representatives in the ministries and other central institutions.

The disappearance of democracy in the party accompanied this; specifically, a process of shaping the party from a political force into an organization entangled in manipulation and serving the advancement of individual carriers and/or the aims of the bureaucratic-management interest alliance.

We are talking about these things from the perspective of focusing attention on two fundamental issues. In the first place, the entanglement of the party in the immediate mechanism of management and administration (especially the administration of the economy) resulted in the deprivation of its chance to rectify development. In the second place, more importantly, it severed the party from its natural base, the working class, making it an arrogant and incompetent authority "on the side." The direct interference in the sphere of economics, in the administrative procedures, further deepened this incompetence while allowing the authorities a great luxury, the luxury of irresponsibility. For these reasons, the 1980 crisis grew to become a conflict between "the world of labor" and "the world of the authorities" where both the "world of labor" was internally fragmented and the "world of the authorities" was also lacking in uniformity.

In this situation, it was also true that Solidarity was a negative spinoff, a major negative for a party subordinated in the past to its executive apparatus. At the same time, however, the view, presented by Jadwiga Staniszkis, that the processes under way in Solidarity were the inevitable result of our system's single-party state, was also unjust. It is not the idea of a single party, but the negative processes therein, its bureaucratization and the incapacitation of the base which were responsible for the fact that in the social conflict, at least initially, the party was somehow to the side of power. Together with the developments at the end of 1980 and in the first months of 1981, a great process of change was underway in the party. The process of its democratization and reorientation were manifested in the course and resolutions of the 9th Party

Congress. One of the most important issues covered at the 9th Party Congress was the course for the development of democracy, particularly, the restoration and creation of the institution of self-government. This was supposed to guarantee the conditions for the actualization and institutionalization of a pluralism of interests and also to protect the system from blockades and malfunction. The way to begin this process, more specifically, to endow it with institutional forms was:

--the transformation of conflicts between the "world of labor" and the "world of the authorities" into a conflict between a movement for social reforms and antisocialist, reactionary and generally conservative forces; i.e., the formation of a socialist renewal syndrom;

--the securing of indispensable autonomy between economics and politics through a fundamental reconstruction of the relations between them.

The autonomy, as results from our experiences of the 1970s and 1980 crisis show, is necessary to both spheres and not just to economics. As we have already stressed, a lack of autonomy results in very negative phenomena in both spheres. As a consequence, a search to find ways to articulate interests outside formal institutions and organizations is born, and a socialistically unnatural conflict between the "world of labor" and the "world of the authorities" results.

The experience of those times also proves what a difficult matter it is to form the syndrome of forces for socialist renewal in a situation where the merger of two spheres, the economic and political, has gone so far. According to a bureaucratic formula, the hypothesis would probably be substantiated that under conditions of the third phase of industrialization, in the phase of technical reconstruction, when particular threats arise for the political system, deformities originating therein cause economic breakdowns. There are only two plausible solutions here: either far-reaching autonomy for the economic sphere, or its democratization, a so-called bringing together of indispensable autonomy with social self-government; in other words, the socialization of administration. The second solution is tied obviously to the democratization of the political system. Democratization is supposed to protect politics from bureaucratization, and economics from losing its social orientation.

#### Mechanism for Revealing Contradictions Inherent in Development of Self-Government

Generally speaking, one can probably say that there is no other alternative for the economy and socialist society than the development of self-government. There is no better solution which, on the one hand, would create the conditions for an economic game; on the other hand, it would not weaken, but strengthen the development of socialist social relations; it would protect society from the extreme aggressiveness of the economy. The realization of this is not only not widespread, but such a direction of development confronts strong structural resistance, including the resistance of groups which feel threatened.

Self-government creates the conditions for the objectivization of the contradictions and provides them a chance to appear "legally". Relatively powerful



circumstances come into being under the conditions of self-government. These circumstances allow the appearance of two groups of contradictions, diametrically opposed to those existing, namely: contradictions between group, center and general interests. Self-government also creates the opportunity which permits the political system, i.e., key political institutions, to really influence the economy. The self-government system cannot be implemented without the indispensable autonomy of the enterprises, local centers, cooperative organizations, and trade union organizations. The experience of self-government, according to the formulae of the Workers' Self-Government Conference [KSR] and also cooperative organizations, provides negative, but simultaneously overwhelming evidence in this regard. Hence, great and just hopes have been placed in the current form of workers' self-government, directly associated with the independence of the enterprise.

Of course, this is currently an issue for the future, the near future at that; there is a real fear that today's temporary restrictions of self-government could continue. Under the conditions of properly operating self-government organizations and institutions, and complying with the general principles of independence and self-government, all realistic contradictions and interest differences will have an opportunity to be expressed. Included are: contradictions between the interests of individual centers and the goals of the general population, the contradictions between large interest groups like workers of the state, cooperative and private sectors, and workers of the coal and light industry sectors, contradictions between individual social-trade union groups and classes of society. It can generally be said that the self-government system is accepting an increase in the number of interest groups and a specification of the social conflicts. If in a centralized system there is the unavoidable tendency towards the polarization of society all the way to the rise of the dichotomy - the "world of labor" vs the "world of the authorities," then the tendency towards the specification of conflicts will dominate under conditions of widespread self-government. As a whole, the system wins the opportunity to free itself from the danger of internal blockade and the resulting pathologies of the most important sphere of social life. At the same time, the danger of particularization will undoubtedly grow, as will the threat to not only the integrity of the system, but also to common interests of large social groups. These dangers become all the more real, inasmuch as the self-government system has to come together with the growth in the significance of group property, and the like.

Elements of competition are appearing between independent and self-governing economic subjects, inasmuch as some of them will be in a better, sometimes in an even greatly improved economic situation than others. Legally, a tendency to strengthen and defend these better positions will appear. Of course, this does not mean that such a situation is exclusively the product of the self-government system or its negative side at that. Interest groups have always existed in a more centralized system. It was only less obvious, took the shape of informal activity and required a special game in which politicians participated and political institutions were included. The self-government system particularizes the social conflict; it legitimizes the game of interests and simultaneously mitigates social tension. The particularization itself of the social



conflict plays an extremely important and stimulating role in this system. Such a situation returns the natural role to the political system, especially to the party. This particularly refers to the socialist system from the perspective of its propriety and goals, and of the different positions of the party in comparison with the capitalist system. If under capitalism the party acts against the interests of the collective and social law and order, and struggles for a new order, then, under socialism the party aspires to performing the role of leading force, representative and defender of the interests of the collective, the state, international treaties, and the like. The party must set realistic social goals, expressing the collective interests, and simultaneously oppose the excessive particularization of interests. But it cannot cross the bounds of autonomy; it must defend them. This is no easy task, all the more so that the party is under the constant pressure of the part of its members who occupy various leadership positions, including in the government and central administration.

The system of self-government, as realistically as it can, creates a great dynamic in the game of interests and its constant duration; it simultaneously requires nonbureaucratic methods to limit extreme particularization. We can say that the self-government system also particularizes the political sphere, and subjects it to the pressure of interest groups to a great extent. The political sphere, particularly its key institution, the party, should be aware of this, while simultaneously realizing the inviolability, to a great extent, of the autonomy of self-government institutions. In perspective, under the conditions of actual self-government development, we can anticipate the growth of involvement in the expression and defense of general interests. The need to represent them through the party will become obvious and socially accepted in as far as the party can simplify it. It will have a new duty, as Lenin repeatedly emphasized, as a political arbitrator. The self-government system creates just such a need.

Self-government and the self-government system will in themselves not result in a guarantee of socialist democracy. A managerial variant in its development is possible. The growing role of social elites, including the role of managers, is not only the product of centralization, bureaucratization and the like. Basically, managers are against bureaucracy.

The movement of workers' councils in Poland in 1956-1957 was an example of this. It found the strong support of enlightened managers. However, as the 1970s proved, an alliance between the bureaucracy and the technocracy is equally possible. As Yugoslavian experiences prove, the development of technocratic tendencies and the subordination of self-government bodies to manager elites are possible in the self-government system. In such a situation, tendencies for far-reaching social variances will find a suitable climate to work. This can lead to substantial social disturbances, not to mention that it is a violation of socialist principles, and results in substantial distortions in society and politics. From this perspective, even the establishment of self-government institutions, although it is undoubtedly a step forward in relations with the central-bureaucratic system, does not guarantee the development of democracy, especially with a socialist nature. Under conditions of self-government, active

undertakings of the party and central authorities are necessary to develop democracy at all levels and in all fields. A particularly important issue is the desire of the party to consolidate the interests of the collective and, above all, the unity of the working class. The party will then win the chance to more effectively represent the interests of its class, even vis-a-vis self-government structures, as well as the basic and long-range interests of this class, something we are always talking about.

As we have already stated, the party is looking for the chance to perform the role of arbitrator and mediator, reconciling the interests of various social groups. In this procedure, there will certainly be differences in positions of the party and self-governments, as well as between the party and the trade unions. The party will have to wage a real political battle, conduct elections and define preferences.

In a social microcosm, particular significance is achieved by such issues as: concern to guarantee a social minimum corresponding to cost of living expenses, a minimum in incomes and wages, and the creation of collective consumption funds designated for extensively understood goals of social politics, and the like. Under the conditions of self-government structures, the social functions of the state and its influence on the economic sphere become even more important. This is also an important problem for the party, requiring the reorientation of its activities and the search for new approaches to them. This will require a most distinct orientation on the part of the party in representing and implementing the basic interests of the working class. To a lesser degree, economics and, to a greater degree, social politics will become the party's interest.

Suitable preferences in this area and, above all, a concern for the compliance with the rules of social justice will have to become the subject of particular party interest. Experience proves that they can and should be one of the basic goals of social politics, if social politics are to have a defined orientation and be subordinated to the working interests and program provisions of socialism.

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PROVINCIAL FEDERATION UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Factors in Development of Union Federations

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Grzyb: "Federations: Opportunities and Dangers"]

[Text] The new trade unions have been active for half a year. At present they total over 3.5 million members, who represent a total of 16,000 enterprises and institutions, i.e., approximately 90 percent of those which, in accordance with the law, have the authority to form independent trade unions. These are the most current data, obtained at a press conference in Warsaw last June, and they are subject to change. The process of formation of the trade union movement is continuing. New members are being added, and new organizations are being formed; at the same time, we are witnessing the emergence of supraplant union structures. These are national federations and unions.

No one ever assumed that [the new] trade union movement was going to develop smoothly and without complications. It is necessary to overcome difficulties, obstacles, reservations, and mistrust. An intense political struggle is continuing; the domestic underground as well as western diversionary centers are doing their best to delay and hamper normalization of life in Poland. All public evidence of stabilization of people's moods and attitudes, which is so beneficial to our society and state, is evoking and will continue to evoke counteraction on the part of the political enemy. Hence there is no letup in often brutal attacks and in pressure being exerted on those who are engaged in the difficult task of forming the new trade unions.

Half a year is a very short period, all the more so because it has followed after a storm which depreciated many previous values and left a legacy of unbelief both in socialist transformations and in invigorating trends toward the righting of wrongs. And, contrary to the predictions and slanderous propaganda of the political enemy, the trade [union] movement is closing this half a year with a favorable balance. The unions are formed from the rank and file; they are being formed by members who represent all the trends. More important

than any existing or implanted divisions is worker and employee unity, as well as unity of interests and opinions. No one from the outside is likely to take care of these interests and of [related] problems.

Plant unions have neither the opportunity nor the penetrating force to be able to resolve employees' general problems. They are regarded as a partner only by their plant's administration, and even this is not always the case as yet. For individual sectors of our economy, and for our entire country, we need a stronger and more cohesive partner, who will not yield to local pressures and who will not always be guided by the narrow concerns of one workforce or one enterprise. This partner is to be a federation [of unions]. The following persons have commented on its role and tasks.

Zbigniew Kowalski, iron and steel worker at the Warszawa Iron and Steel Works, vice president of the Federation of Steelworkers' Unions:

We wanted a federation, and not a national union; we are convinced that a national union is a form which has not proven itself. We feared the possibility of having another generation of "armchair leaders;" we also feared that union authority would be strong but difficult to control. Thus, a union, but not a union member, belongs to the federation. A union sends to the federation its representative, whom it can recall at any moment. We do not wish to have resident dignitaries among us.

The next point is that each union in the federation is one of the many and each has identical rights. This facilitates taking a unified position with regard to problems which we face. Prior to the creation of the federation, we had held over 30 meetings. That enabled us to chart our path and tasks. Owing to that, we do not have any silent opposition in our federation. We had discussed all the issues until coming to an agreement.

A total of 90 unions belong to our federation, while there are over 100 major plants in the iron and steel industry. We are receiving applications [for membership] from other unions, including those on the periphery of the iron and steel industry, and from related sectors. We do not represent any authority. Our chairman and vice chairman cannot give anyone any orders. We have no authorization to act on our own. This authorization can be given us by the executive committee, while an assembly of unions is our legislative body. Each union has an identical right to present its opinions to other unions; no union has a dominant position.

We have already passed the crucial period, but the path ahead of us is not strewn with roses. There are iron and steel works where the majority of the workforce belongs to a union, but there are also others where union membership amounts to barely 10 percent. We will continue to work openly and patiently. There is still a great deal of emotion, and reason does not prevail everywhere. There are some adversaries whose programs are limited to abuse and opposition. We have a program.

We are just getting started. We are defining our tasks. Problems which we intend to try to resolve in the near future include collective agreements, and



health care as well as housing for the work forces of iron and steel plants. We favor extensive and truly social consultation about drafts of [government] decrees. Recently, a ministry sent a 36-page document to our plant, with a consultation deadline of 3 days. This is absurd. We want to consult a specific number of unions about our intentions; for this reason, permanent consultation centers will be created. We anticipate that the authorities will take a realistic attitude toward us and toward the principles which we are proposing.

Andrzej Dubowicz, an employee of Ursus Mechanical Plant, vice president of the charter committee of the federation of metalworkers:

We are in the stage of a major organizational effort whose aim is to create a national federation of employees of the metal industry. We have had a number of meetings and talks, including, among others, a meeting in Poznan which was attended by representatives of 393 plant unions; it was there that we formed the charter committee of the federation. The program principles will be submitted to unions for consultation, and we expect to hold our charter meeting by the end of September. Our views concerning the form of the federation coincide pretty much with the model which has been suggested by the iron and steelworkers.

And now a few words about our plant. The adversary wanted to make it an attack base for antisocialist activities. In this he did not succeed. The local battle for the union's place in our plant is still being fought. There are still too few of us. There are quite a few persons who are slow to join; this is normal, because people have been disappointed many times before. Our basic aim is to defend the interests of working people. We have a definite and realistic program. In time, people themselves will realize who actually represents their vital interests.

Stanislaw Bar, chairman of the charter committee of the federation of construction workers:

Representatives of unions from construction enterprises have just completed their first meetings and their preliminary agreements. At the meeting in Chylice, where 268 unions were represented, a 48-member charter committee was formed. The need for a federation stems from, among other things, the fact that plant organizations are unable to cope with matters of a general nature. We are still facing many problems that need to be resolved. In different branches of the construction industry, as well as in the transportation and in the construction materials industries which work to supply its needs, there are approximately 650 unions, while there are approximately 2,500 enterprises and institutions. Even now, we see the emergence of the problem of delegating authority to the federation by member unions. It is not possible to create authority without prerogatives; somebody has to decide on behalf of others, and creation of huge representative bodies would be nonsense.

We have to prepare a model for, and a form of, federation. It should be a union of unions. But, if 2,500 unions send their representatives to a congress, it will be exceedingly difficult to accomplish anything. And so, this model must be accepted by the unions earlier.

At present, we see that union life is being endangered in many ways. Attempts are being made to create union federations and attach them to sector economic associations. We see in this a definite possibility of subordination of the unions to the administration. Also of concern is the intervention of self-government bodies in the scope of union activities. We are just starting, and we have not become firmly established; but we are disturbed about the fact that in some plant organizations there is lack of concern for matters of sports, rest, and culture. These are, among others, problems which can be handled more effectively in a federation.

Wojciech Obarski--State Farm in Gniechowice, Wroclaw Province, chairman of the charter committee of a federation of farm unions:

In farming there are over 6,000 enterprises where trade unions can be created. Out of 1311 unions which have registered with us, over 700 have already declared their intention to join the federation. I think that the creation of a supra-plant structure will have a visible effect on the process of the growth of both the organization and of the membership.

The situation is already beyond our power to control it; through social activity alone we are no longer able to direct the formation and the work of the federation. The need to form such a federation is universally recognized. Farming is made up of scattered plants and enterprises; there are problems of common concern to us which can be resolved only through a common effort. It would be absurd to try to resolve them through individual efforts. We, the initiators of the federation, are the youngest generation of activists; we have never held prominent public posts. We are acting sincerely and wholeheartedly; this should bring results. We aspire to act for the benefit of all agriculture; we want to unite people, and not to divide them.

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The young union leaders impressed the journalists as being both optimists and realists. They realize the importance of what they have done, they are aware of difficulties, they see new dangers to the union movement, and they have reservations about several paragraphs of the law about unions which do not reflect the current situation. They do not have any prescribed models for union activity. They fear both the dangers of bureaucracy in the unions themselves and the bureaucratic attitude of the administration; they also fear disregard of the unions by plant management. Consequently, they favor complete and consistent implementation of the obligations of the administration as defined by the law.

Not always harmonious are the relations between union organizations and social and political organizations in plants. Of particular importance here is the cooperation between unions, self-government, management, and party organizations. There are no prescribed procedures and rules of this cooperation. Of much concern is also the one-sided activity of a number of plant unions which is limited to social problems and neglects the area of education and culture. It is precisely in federations that the activists see an opportunity to seek specific solutions to forgotten problems. But they are concerned, likewise, about a possible proliferation of unions and the attendant danger of excessive organizational fragmentation of the union movement--fragmentation that is actually tantamount to weakness.

## Interest of Construction Workers in Federation

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 7 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by ev: "Construction Workers Also Want a Federation"]

[Text] Representatives of plant union organizations of the Ministry of Construction Industry in the Krakow-City and Bielsko-Biala provinces met yesterday to discuss problems which are related to the formation of Federation of Independent, Self-Governing Unions of Construction Industry Workers.

In our province there are 60 unions of construction workers. For the time being, only charter committees are active in 19 of them. The supraplant structure, which the federation will be, has a good chance to become a representative of the entire community of construction workers if 50 percent of the unions which were formed in that community expresses a desire to join the federation. However, it turns out that many are willing to form a federation, but...each one his own. Hence, the exodus of those enterprises which have export-related status, like Chemobudowa Industrial Construction Enterprise or Naftobudowa Investment-Repair Enterprise for Chemical Industry, whose representatives did not attend the meeting.

Those attending proposed the formation of one federation which would represent the entire community [of construction workers], and they elected three delegates from Krakow Province to membership on the federation's charter committee: Halina Plazinska from the Krakow Engineering Enterprise No 2; Jozef Mroczek, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Union of the Krakow Building Enterprise; and Kazimierz Smiertek, from the "Budostal 5" Engineering Enterprise.

All matters concerning the formation of unions as well as of the federation can be clarified at the consultation center which is run on a voluntary basis by construction workers. The center is located at 5 Szczepanski Square, Room 310, 3rd floor, phone 22-19-37, from 9 am to 3 pm. In addition, a legal adviser is on duty on Tuesdays and Fridays, from 9 am to 1 pm and from 2 pm to 4 pm.

## Establishment of Farm Workers Federation

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8 Jul 83 pp 3, 4

[Article by Andrzej Cudak: "One Cause and One Goal"]

[Text] In Gorzow Province, the process of union formation in the socialized sector of farming has progressed considerably. Unions have been formed and registered in almost 80 units: in agricultural plants, on state farm enterprises [PPGR], in agricultural (circles) cooperatives [SKR], in plant cultivation stations, in water resources cooperatives, etc. In the most recent period, of great help has been, among other things, the activity of the three-member Social Consultative Council, whose headquarters is in Baczyna. The council has endeavored--utilizing, among other things, the initial experience of its own organizations--to give advice to colleagues in other plants.

Recently a proposal was made that individual unions join the Federation of Unions of Farm Workers which is being formed in our country. In many of these unions, appropriate resolutions were approved, which were then taken by union leaders to Baczyna, where a meeting took place in the building of the Association of State Farm Enterprises.

Declarations of intent to join the federation were made by unions of 13 production farms, 7 agricultural plants, and 6 organizations which are active in other agricultural centers. They have a combined membership of over 4,000. Representatives of several other organizations, who took part in the proceedings, did not have any resolutions from their unions to present, because they had received the pertinent notice--although it had been sent earlier--at the last moment, too late to organize any meetings.

During the meeting [at Baczyna], which was also attended by, among others, the leadership of the Charter Committee of the federation, including the Committee's chairman Wojciech Obarski from the Gniechowice State Farm [PCR] near Wroclaw, a 10-member provincial Social Coordination Council of Farm Workers Unions, with a three-member presidium, was elected. I asked the members of the presidium: the chairman--Henryk Kryczka [Lubniewice Agricultural Plant], the vice chairman--Romuald Niechwiadowicz (State Farm Enterprise in Choszczno), the secretary--Edward Bodnar (Transportation and Mechanical Service Plant in Mostkow), as well as the chairman of the Charter Committee of the federation--W. Obarski, to share with me their thoughts, observations, and doubts concerning the formation of unions and federations in the socialized sector of agriculture in our province and in our entire country.

Romuald Niechwiadowicz: The law of 8 October 1982 was certainly a great surprise for some people in the rural areas, because it allowed the formation of unions despite the fact that martial law was still in force. Consequently, our most important concern was who would be active in these unions, as all the previous unions had been dissolved. At first we, who formed an initiative group in my plant, thought that the [new] unions would attract, above all, former members of sector unions, since only some 30 percent of our plant's workforce belonged to Solidarity. However, we were slightly mistaken, because also many former Solidarity members joined the new unions. Perhaps it was an expression of their having, in time, reassessed their attitude, and of their understanding of the issue. As a result, in our enterprise there were no hostile attitudes toward the new unions, and the latter were not boycotted or condemned in any way, as was the case in some industrial plants.

Henryk Kryczka: Where does this need for unions stem from? I will tell you, using as my own example my own backyard, the Lubniewice Agricultural Cooperative, where 803 persons have already joined the unions; this includes 122 day-laborers, whom we usually do not take into account, although we do not deny them the opportunity to join the union. The union statute permits union membership of temporarily unemployed workers or of workers who are looking for jobs. However, what did we observe during the formation of unions? At the beginning there was lack of confidence; there were fears that the new unions would be run by the party, and that there would be a repetition of past situations in which a union leader had simply done the bidding of the plant's manager.



Therefore, as a charter committee in our agricultural plant, we immediately went among the people and we tried to individually convince nearly all those who were undecided. We explained that the union would, above all, take an interest in the employees, and would be concerned with their social benefits, living conditions, wages, protective clothing, etc. And people gradually began to trust us. At this moment, no one in our plant is asking: What do we need a union for? At present, we have our own very active department organizations, even in those plants where Solidarity was active formerly.

Romuald Niechwiadowicz: Work in agriculture is more strenuous and less integrated than in an industrial plant. Because agriculture is really a factory which is out in the open. One has to work on rainy, windy, and frosty days. At the same time, our housing arrangements and social conditions are worse than those of industrial workers; likewise, in the rural area we do not have a complete infrastructure of services as a city does. Thus, an employee must have support [from management], and the opportunity to take his problems to someone. Consequently, more concern about employees is necessary.

Edward Bodnar: I worked previously at the Bomet Window Equipment Plant for nearly 9 years; there, we knew that after accepting employment and signing a contract an employee would be given specific duties. On the other hand, here on our state farm [PGR] we simply do what is needed at a given moment. It is the manager that decides, and not the scope of one's duties.

Wojciech Obarski: Likewise, there are many problems in agriculture which cannot be resolved by an individual farm or agricultural plant. Indeed, every union is not going to go to the minister with its problems. At present there are approximately 1,500 unions in agriculture, and this number is likely to grow to approximately 5,000-6,000, because there are that many plants and people will form unions in all of them sooner or later. This is also the reason why we are forming a federation. It will facilitate, at the same time, accumulation of appropriate supraplant financial resources which will be used to help those unions which by themselves are initially unable to accumulate needed funds.

Romuald Niechwiadowicz: However, one has to admit that among union members there are misgivings about the formation of a federation, despite the fact that a federation's legal status is linked to a union and not to the central office. We hear people say that they do not want to see the emergence of what used to be. But this is not to be taken literally. For example, people say that the construction of the "Golden Wheathead" Rest Home was a good thing. Praised be the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ], which built it and thus provided rest facilities for farmers. The problem is, who will stay at it-- those belonging to the so-called "upper echelon," or workers? There is always a possibility of a distortion here. And we must, above all, eliminate suspicion. I take this opportunity to make my own observation, namely: a union needs permanent employees, but any elective posts should be honorary. Because, if, for example, I, who live in Choszczno, was offered a post in Gorzow, where would I return to after my term of office and what would I do?

Henryk Kryczka: Charges are made that unions are being formed from above and thus "upper echelons" are again being created. But we have acted on our initiative. Nobody told us which one of us was to be chairman. Everybody was elected democratically, at least in our plants. Representatives of political authorities, for example, were invited to the first formal meeting of the union only after the election.

Wojciech Obarski: In May of this year, out of 1195 unions which are active in farming, 784 unions, that is, a majority, expressed their desire to join the federation and submitted appropriate resolutions. However, some of these resolutions did not meet certain formal requirements, e.g., they bore the seal of the plant and not the union. We could have registered unions, for example, on a competitive basis, iron and steel workers being first and farm workers second. This is not the point, however, we assumed that we should provide as many opportunities as possible for unions in agriculture to join the federation as charter members, without having to add numerous additional member unions later. Consequently, we want to accumulate as many resolutions as we can, even now. This will be followed by registration [of unions in the federation], and then by preparations for a convention. The appropriate authorities will be constituted at the convention. At the same time it will be necessary to take care of current problems, for the sake of the people.

Romuald Niechwiadowicz: There are many problems which have to be taken care of as soon as possible. This includes, first of all, wages which, relatively speaking, are low on State Farms. They are lower than they were several years ago. It is necessary to secure an appropriate collective work agreement, so that employees will know that they will be paid well if they do good work.

Also, it is necessary to change some concepts and the procedures which result from them. We [farmers] produce meat, and [yet] we are provided with meat through a system of rationing. Meanwhile, meat processing plants, which are merely processors of our product, have an allotment of 10 to 20 kilograms of meat per person. The same situation exists with regard to the Seed Center which makes more money on brokerage than we make on production. This, of course, affects our wages and bonuses. Such absurdities have to be eliminated.

Edward Bodnar: However, one must say that [some] plant managers are still accustomed to martial law. Despite the existence of a union, they want to continue imposing their wishes. I do not say that it happens everywhere and always, but such things do occur.

Wojciech Obarski: I believe that there should be as few situations as possible in which the union takes one position, the management another, and the self-government still another. On our Lubniewice State Farm, the manager belongs to the union. He does not hold a union post, because our statute does not permit it, but he is a union member. Thus, we do not have opposing sides. We have one cause and one goal.

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This is, in an outline, the process of the formation of the union movement in agriculture, with its characteristics and problems. In order to have a complete

picture, we should mention one more thing--the constant keeping of an eye on the new union authorities, which was evident during the meeting in Baczyna. This included, for example, the matter of eventually proposing, as the site of the future first convention, Lubniewice in Gorzow Province; the proposal had to be made by the entire membership and not--as was emphasized--by the chairman alone. Wojciech Obarski had to explain at length that he had originated the idea of eventually selecting Lubniewice in order to have alternate proposals for sites out Wroclaw Province. Also, discussions began promptly with regard to financial matters and, in particular, to the amount proposed in the statute of a portion of dues which would be sent by the unions to the federation. Likewise, numerous problems were raised with regard to, among other things; the standard number of hours for chairmen, difficulties in this area being experienced in Plant Cultivation Cooperative [SHR] in Wojcieszyc; to the right of a manager to recall an employee from a yearly sick leave, which was the case in the Dobiegniew agricultural plant; to a bonus for the workforces of water resources cooperatives, such a bonus being requested by union members from Miedzyrzecz. And there are many other problems which simply have to be resolved in the interests of the people.

9577

CSO: 2600/1125

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Unification of Trade Unions

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Lucjan Pracki: "To Unite, Not Divide; 12th Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee on Labor Unions"]

[Text] The 12th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee added important elements to the well known party position toward trade unions. The session confirmed that the party steadfastly stands for the autonomy of the labor movement, is against interfering in its internal matters and is for mutual cooperation in the defense of rights and interests of the working people. At the same time, the session indicated that party members have the duty to participate in the labor movement and that they must care about its development and socialistic outlook.

The party organizations and party authorities in the plants must not stand on the sidelines of such a difficult and important process as the rebuilding of trade unions. In accordance with the correct principle, party organizations must not interfere in the internal matters but they should offer help and advice, they must not condemn trade unions to a lonely fight against the boycott of the underground and the lack of trust of some of the workers. While fully respecting the independence and the right to self-government of trade unions, members of the PZPR have the duty to participate actively and to implement the party line.

It would show a lack of understanding to attempt to direct the trade unions, to limit their rights, or to impose on them anything from outside. These errors must not be repeated. It is not, however, an interference to work within unions which, after all, are for everybody and are professional organizations open to all working people. It is really the primary duty of party members to be where the matters of concern to working people are being decided, where the fellow workers organize themselves to defend professional interests of the workers and where they fight against the adversaries of new unions.

Correctly, the party made the situation clear. How else could the party fulfill its role within the working class if the party was not present and active



in the largest organization of the working people, i.e. the trade union movement? This is a basic guarantee of the movement's strength, unity and ability to repulse any renewed attempts by the antisocialist opposition to split it apart.

The 12th plenary session took an unequivocal position regarding the last point. The trade union movement, despite fears and reservations of some workers, has crossed the threshold of being a mass organization and, at this time, it numbers almost 3 million members. By the members' desire, on the basis of the rank and file demand, there start to appear union organizations above the plant level. Everything points out that this process will grow and will assume various organizational forms as desired by the working people. There is one thing certain and emphasized by the 12th plenary session: there will be no return to dividing the working class into adversary sociopolitical forces and organizations. No attempts to sneak through any such concepts, and we have seen recently some more attempts to do so, have any chance to succeed. That chapter of union activity has been definitely closed, the party says.

And what about the August social pact, people ask. And what about the Trade Union Act which states that after 1984 there can be more than one union in each plant? Does it mean that the party abandoned the letter and the spirit of those documents which it previously approved?

The 12th plenary session proves that such a conclusion is false. The party remains true to the policy established by the 9th Congress and confirmed at the 10th plenary session. The party stands for such labor unions as are demanded by the working people. But the unquestioned right of working people to decide whether to belong to a union and to what kind of union is not the same thing as to tolerate actions by the antisocialist opposition to split the unity of the working class. It is a different thing to have the right to establish in a plant a union which, for instance, organizes people of one trade whose specific interests would be thus better represented in the general plantwide organization, than to establish a competing union or, even worse, a union which would be simply against the existing legal order. Recently, we had experience of this kind and we do not want to repeat it.

In a socialist society the working class interest is one, common and indivisible. There are no theoretical or practical reasons to divide workers into adversary unions. To the contrary, workers' interests can be effectively defended only by a united labor movement independent from the authorities. The movement may represent diverse points of view and organizational forms but must be united in recognizing the supreme role of the nation, the form of government and the state. This is in agreement with the desires and aspirations of the majority of working people and with the spirit of the August accords which were the roots of the Trade Union Act. This is what the party steadfastly supports.

## Warsaw Unionist Meeting

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 9 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by (ts): "Unionist Thursday. Warsaw Unionists Meet in Prague"]

[Text] During the period 23-26 May, the 4th Conference of Representatives of Trade Unions of the Capital Cities of People's Democracy Countries was held in Prague. At the initiative of the Trade Union Advisory Group attached to the Capital National Council, a delegation of unionists from Warsaw participated in that session in Prague.

In order to find out what went on at the conference, we talked briefly to the Warsaw delegates: Antoni Czerwinski, the chairman of trade union at the Ludwik Warynski [WZMB] and Zdzislaw Kida, the chairman of labor organization at the Polnoc Municipal Construction Combine [KBM].

Zdzislaw Kida says: This year, in addition to the delegates from European capitals of People's Democracy countries, the unionists from Havana, Hanoi and Kabul arrived also. Such meetings take place every 2 years.

The paper presented by our delegation received serious attention. We presented at length our organizational solutions in the plant union organizations in Warsaw and the prospects for our movement.

Three subjects dominated the conference. First, it was emphasized that the labor movement must participate fully in the struggle for world peace. The second subject discussed during the deliberations was the importance of socialist labor competition, economical use of raw materials and energy and higher quality of product. The third subject was an integral part of the spirit of union movement in socialist countries and can be stated in one sentence: everything done by the labor movement is done primarily for the benefit of man.

Delegates of all countries represented participated in the discussion, says Antoni Czerwinski. We have learned about the activities of labor movements in the whole socialist camp.

Most interesting were the remarks of Comrade Pietrov, chairman of the Moscow Council of Trade Unions, adds Zdzislaw Kida. The representative of Moscow unionists especially emphasized the importance of collective competition both among various plants and within the plants for productivity and quality of work.

Z. Kida added that, being in the position of chairman of a plant union, it is very difficult to evaluate the importance of the meeting in Prague for the Warsaw union movement. Also, it is difficult to present briefly a full and correct picture of everything that had been learned during the conference so soon after it has ended. This is a very fragmentary report and does not fully reflect the wealth of information about the unions which we had an opportunity to obtain. It is certain, however, that the experience acquired in Prague will produce results in our union work.

[Article by (ts): "Difficult Beginnings of Construction Workers Federation"]

[Text] Representatives of labor unions active in construction enterprises met in Chylice, near Lodz, to discuss the organization and modus operandi of the future Federation of Construction Workers' Trade Union. The 2-day deliberations were stormy. There was no shortage of discussions and clashes regarding the final version of the draft federation bylaws.

Many problems were caused by the bylaws of delegates' own unions. Some bylaws do not provide for creation of organizations above the plant level and would have to be modified by general membership meetings, some bylaws leave the decision to join interplant organizations in the hands of general membership meetings. Only in cases where the union executive committee can decide whether to join the federation, the matter is fairly simple. Calling up general membership meetings greatly delays the process of obtaining the authorizations necessary to register the federation.

Many discussions and differences of opinions are caused by differences in organizational placement of construction enterprises and the resulting different interests of individual enterprises and their employees. The federation is being joined by companies established either by the chiefs of voivodships, or the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials, or by some cooperatives.

Another difficulty is caused by the multiplicity of union organizations. In over 3,000 enterprises, there are 1,200 unions. And there is a new one registered almost every week. The problem facing the unionists is how to gather the representatives of more than one half of the unions so that a federation could be organized. There is a formal requirement that to organize a union above the plant level, at least one half of the active unions must participate. And to make the situation even more difficult, under such circumstances all present must agree. Thus, it is best to gather all the representatives. The question remains where to find a place big enough for so many people and how to determine the date. It is obvious that everybody cannot leave his job at the same time and that some managers do not look favorably at traveling by their unionists.

At Chylice, a federation founding committee was set up which will consist primarily of the representatives of all voivodships. Also elected were: the bylaws commission, the program commission and the organizing commission.

## Federation of Construction Workers' Trade Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Eugeniusz Banach by Opr. (Jan): "Federation of Construction Workers' Trade Unions," date and place not given]

[Text] On Monday, the Polish Press Agency announced that on the 3d and 4th of this month in Chylice, near Warsaw, the authorized representatives of 268 registered unions of workers in the construction industry, the construction materials industry and the residential cooperatives established the Organizing Committee of the Federation of Independent Self-governing Trade Unions of Construction Workers. We are interviewing Eugeniusz Banach, a member of the Organizing Committee and the chairman of union organization at the Construction Enterprise in Lublin to discuss the preparations to register the federation and to organize its first congress.

[Question] Let us start with the most important matter. In these extremely important events which will decide the contents of the bylaws and the program of action, is our region represented in sufficient numbers?

[Answer] Yes. And I would say that, in relation to other regions, we have a strong representation. But let us start by being more precise regarding certain data. There are 500 construction unions in Poland. At Chylice 268 union representatives met, out of whom 260 were authorized to cast a final vote, i.e. could show that their unions' executive committees desired to join the federation. One can say that the required majority has met at Chylice. In the Lublin Voivodship, 28 unions declared their decision to join the federation, including the 10 largest construction enterprises in the voivodship. Three persons from our voivodship participate directly in the preparations for registration and the congress: Piotr Babik of the Piecobudowa, Adam Syroka of the Lublin Construction Materials Manufacturing Enterprise and I. It should be noted that eventually the representatives of all voivodships will participate in the organizing committee but at the moment a few are still missing. Our representation is already complete.

[Question] Let us now discuss specifics. The first draft of the federation bylaws was discussed at the meeting of the Lublin unions. As far as I know there were many comments.

[Answer] And there were many more comments at the meeting at Chylice. There was no end to discussions. Personally, I am happy that all corrections and additions submitted by the Lublin delegation were 90 percent accepted at the national forum. Most controversial was the matter of federation's authority which is understandable as everybody wants to avoid the unpleasant experiences of the past. The differences were extreme. On the one hand some wanted all the federation functions performed on the voluntary basis and, at the other end of the spectrum, some wanted to establish in advance paid job positions for the executive office and individual committees. In my opinion, day to day business of the future federation cannot be conducted without at least a



few employees but it would not be right to determine in advance how many jobs there should be. These matters should be decided by the congress. Disagreements were also generated by the extent of authority that the federation executive committee should have and by other related matters. Generally, the discussion tended, and rightly so, to favor such a formulation of the bylaws that would limit the bureaucracy to the minimum.

[Question] You are a member of the Program Committee. Is the federation program also controversial?

[Answer] First of all, there is no program yet. The main thrust of the program will be determined by the bylaws. There is language included about representing the common position of the unions to the authorities, to social and political organizations and about continually improving efforts to satisfy the material, social and cultural needs of construction workers. The federation will support justified efforts of individual unions and will cooperate in drafting legal documents affecting employees of construction enterprises; also, it will voice its opinions about such documents.

[Question] Some slogans used encompass literally all the problems of construction. Let us try to translate them into specifics. What were the topics that you discussed privately behind the scenes?

[Answer] There are three most important problems for our people: housing, social welfare which is crucial in our trade and the pay. Everybody talked about these subjects everywhere both publicly and privately. The housing problem is connected to the final settlement of the construction workers' charter. Supposedly it exists, supposedly 5 percent of apartments are reserved for us but there is no law enforcing this. The pay must be determined soon too. Otherwise, we cannot stop by any means the exodus of the cadre; it is a universal phenomenon and it is growing stronger. It is superfluous to talk about social problems. Everybody knows that construction workers must have a guaranteed minimum of social welfare entitlements.

[Question] I admire the speed at which the preparation to organize the federation are proceeding. The first nationwide meeting of unionists took place a few weeks ago. Is it not all done too quickly, is there enough time for consultation?

[Answer] Of course, more time for consultations would be helpful but, on the other hand, the pressure from individual unions is enormous. Everybody realizes that only the federation will have enough strength to push through the solutions to the most essential problems of construction workers. Besides, we want to have an impact on the preparation and evaluation of certain legal acts. For instance, we know that changes in the labor code are being prepared. We should participate in it. And this does not interfere with accepting new applications to join the federation, which keep coming, and in collecting opinions and comments.

[Question] When the registration of the Independent Self-Governing Federation of Construction Trade Unions should be expected?

[Answer] We have not yet set up the date for the next meeting. In the next few days all unions will receive the improved draft of bylaws and of the program in order to review them once again and to provide comments. Thus, the next meeting of voivodship representatives will take place in July and then a decision will be taken regarding the tentative date when the application for approval of the federation registration will be submitted. Thus, the first congress will take place in September or October.

Thank you.

#### Federation of Metallurgists' Trade Unions

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 13 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[PAP Article: "Founding Meeting of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions in Katowice. First Union Organization Above Plant Level Established in Poland"]

[Text] The first union organization above the plant level established in Poland is the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions in Poland. It was established by the founding congress in Katowice on 11 June. The congress was called by the Federation Organizing Committee.

The congress' slogan was "Unity Makes the Metallurgical Workers Strong."

Over 500 representatives from 93 plant unions met; these founders represent over 95,000 members, i.e. less than one-third of employees of iron and steel foundries, nonferrous metal foundries, cast-iron producers, heat-resistant materials producers and of metallurgical maintenance works. A new important phase has begun of creating new independent, self-governing trade unions in our country--the phase of organizing union entities above the plant level.

The congress was opened by the chairman of the federation committee, Edward Ksiazkiewicz who also made the speech initiating the discussions. Stanislaw Gabrielski, the chief of the PZPR Central Committee Department for Social and Labor Affairs, Edward Lukosz, the minister of metallurgy and machine tool industry, Henryk Kowalski, the chief labor inspector, Piotr Karpiak, the administrator of the former trade unions' property and the directors of metallurgical associations and plants were present as observers.

The congress was the crowning result of a 6-month-long and widespread discussion among unions regarding the structure and shape of the federation. The papers presented indicated that over 30 interunion meetings took place prior to the registration of the federation. During these meetings, drafts of all documents which will be the bases of future dynamic actions were thoroughly discussed and analyzed. The outcome of these meetings are the bylaws which were registered at the Voivodship Court in Warsaw on 20 May this year. The bylaws state that the supreme authority of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions in Poland (which has as its members, on voluntary basis, individual unions rather than individual persons) will be the Executive Committee composed of representatives of metallurgical trade unions as permanent members. During its 3-year term, the committee will consist of 39 unions and the seats will be allocated on the basis of rotation.

The federation chairman was elected at the congress. Alfred Miodowicz of the Lenin works became the chairman. Seven candidates for this job were nominated by representatives of member plant unions.

The congress elected the following vice chairmen of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions in Poland: Boguslaw Banaszyk of the Dozamet Lower Silesia Metallurgical Works in Nowa Sol, Zbigniew Kowalski of the Warsaw Metallurgical Works, Jan Piesiur of the Dziedzice Metal Rolling Plant and Ryszard Rybak of the Metallurgical Maintenance Shop.

The congress participants passed an appeal addressed to all metallurgical trade unions in the world. Inter alia, the appeal said that the congress joins all social forces in the world struggling for peace and relaxation of international tensions. Facing the nuclear holocaust, we say No to senseless armaments. We demand constructive talks at the negotiating table.

8801

CSO: 2600/1018

## PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Formation of Federations in Trade Unions

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 27 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Siwak: "Is There Merely 'Pressure' on the Administration?"]

[Text] Tadeusz Jakubas, chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the Nowa Sarzyna Chemical Plant Employees, returned recently from Katowice. He took part in the first meeting of union member representatives from 56 plants in the chemical industry, ceramics industry and glassmaking subsector, who met to discuss plans for opening a union federation. Paper industry workers were formerly part of the subsector structure; at the present time, however, they do not plan to enter the federation.

In answer to the question: Why do we need this federation and what purpose will it serve?, Chairman T. Jakubas answers unhesitatingly: "Our primary purpose is to represent [employees] before the authorities, particularly the ministry. We know that when we are stronger and united, the authorities will take us more seriously than they do an individual plant. Many pertinent suggestions likewise must be implemented with regard to employee affairs included in such formerly active unions as Solidarity and the subsector union. For objective reasons, these proposals have not been resolved satisfactorily. The reason is that the association [zjednoczenie] was liquidated and there was no one with whom to speak; then 13 December 1981 came, and trade union activity was suspended.

This was the situation regarding the draft of the chemists' charter and wage issues. Union members plan to return to the charter, although in modified form, taking into consideration the current realities and the country's economic situation. On the other hand, with regard to wages, the Sarzyna activists tried to convince me that workers in the chemical industry ministry are among the most poorly paid in the country. Since I doubted them, they showed me a list of employee wages. In point of fact, the wage spread runs from 6,000 zlotys to 14,000 zlotys before extras and compensations. The average wage is not overly impressive. Moreover, there is another important point here. This year the plant is working much better and is producing much more. The rate of growth of production for the first quarter alone rose 60 percent over the previous quarter. Thus, the workforce deserved a raise.



Nonetheless, the union is still negotiating with management on how to dole it out. It is not at all the case that the union wants to please everyone and will fight for a raise for every worker without exception. Two basic criteria were adopted: above all the wages of workers should be increased, since this group is the most poorly paid. Second, those that did solid work alone should get a raise.

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Thus far 530 employees of a workforce of 2,660 have joined the union. This number is growing systematically: each day from several up to a dozen or so declare their intention to join. A union conference of delegates has already been held, during which the election of the nine-member plant board was conducted. T. Jakubas is still employed as a technologist. Of the two vice chairman, Czeslaw Plachta is a foreman and Andrzej Nykiel is an apparatus mechanic. Only the board secretary, laboratory technician Maria Wojnarowicz is conducting current union work as a delegate. The chairman does not plan to take a full-time union position. Once a week he spends a whole day doing only union work. He is available at the union board office, solves problems and receives those who have business to settle. As is evident, the conference delegates took pains to ensure that the board was represented by workers, people with close everyday contact with shopworkers.

Union groups have been formed in most production divisions. Union representatives are taking part in meetings of divisional groups; they are having more and more voice in matters concerning the workforce.

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The union is growing in importance for plants. It is assuming responsibility for more and more matters, of which there are many. Last year, for example, a plant built two housing blocks for the workforce, and this year it has built one. Young people obtained most of the apartments. They had to be aided as much as possible in setting up housekeeping in their own apartments. Understanding their difficult situation, the union interceded to purchase furniture directly from the RFM [District Furniture Plant] in Sediszow; 15 sets were purchased. There are also matters of greater importance.

The allocation of housing in the next block, that is, unfortunately, the last block that the plant could build, arouses much tension and emotion. There are 70 apartments, and the number of people on the waiting list is several times more than that. While the allocation was done by a commission appointed by the social management, which included representatives of sociopolitical organizations, including the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] and the trade union, many people are appealing to the union. During the one day that I visited the plant, I witnessed several such incidents of intervention. Thus, the matter must be reviewed. The material situation and the living conditions of those making the appeals also must be checked accurately.

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When I asked how the union performs its function of defending, union activists did not wish to speak out with authority. It is not merely that to date there have not been serious conflicts between superiors and subordinates. On the contrary, recently several such matters have surfaced, but contact with the head director is needed to explain them in full, and he is abroad on official business.

For example, a superior wishes to penalize a worker that has refused to work late, after his shift is over. While the worker's behavior is not commendable, it must be studied carefully whether his working overtime was indispensable to the plant. Should the mother that has two sick children at home and comes to work for a few hours to settle some business that she knows is urgent hear from her boss: "You ought not to come back at all"?

There are other complex interpersonal matters. There will be such matters in the future. In this regard, union workers have a serious dilemma to resolve, that they express in the following way: on the one hand, we must defend the interests and individual rights of workers, and on the other we must be concerned over the general welfare of the plant. Are these two areas always in harmony? No, they are not. The following example illustrates this view. The management plans to fire several employees that are not doing their jobs. Paradoxically, there is a shortage of employees. There are those employees that have a doctor's excuse for everything. A particular employee cannot work in a draft, he is allergic to oils and lubricants, he is not supposed to lift heavy objects and the like. In the end, there is nothing for him to do--he can only collect a salary. Herein lies the conflict of interests of the individual and the entire enterprise.

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At the beginning of this article, I mentioned the implementation of the recommendations made by former unions. Union activists attach much importance to the implementation of these suggestions. Many of them have been put into practice successfully, especially those (the majority) that concern social issues of the workforce.

Thus, a recommendation concerning ensuring workers enough work clothes, shoes and protective gloves has been implemented, although there are still problems regarding quality, variety and sizes and the like. Personal hygiene articles are now in abundance, and there are finally enough towels. Supplies in plant kiosks have increased. Social services for the workforce have increased. The best proof of this is that all employee children have spaces reserved for them at camps and the members of the workforce have places reserved at vacation spots and sanatoriums. Considerable sums have also been designated for assisting employees that are in especially difficult financial straits, for disaster aid and the like. A proposal to allot coal payments-in-kind to plant pensioners and annuitants has been implemented in full.

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T. Jakubas notes: "There are still many problems to resolve over the short and long term. One of these is honoring employees of special merit. Is it not a shame when, after working 35 years in a plant, a person retires without being honored in any way, while he is truly deserving of being singled out, is well known as a problem solver and has made suggestions and innovations that have been very profitable economically? We have many such employees. We must also work to standardize categories of employee rank in the particular production divisions. We must resolve the question of health leaves for people that work under especially noxious conditions that are harmful to health.

"We are working on many employee questions and problems in cooperation with the employee self-government and the PZPR plant committee. We have been doing so regarding the questions of allocating housing, establishing the principles of financial management and rank and employee promotions. The party echelon is assisting us to resolve many matters with which individual workers come to us. However, the KZ is certainly not 'controlling' us or leading us by the hand. I believe that our autonomy is winning over a greater and greater part of the workforce to our activity."

#### Trade Union Problems and Concerns

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 27 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by: (tur); "Why a Metallurgists' Federation?"; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The Stanislawian Age has arrived—Pulsa wisecracks. The director is a Stanislaus, his deputy is a Stanislaus, and so am I./

The stoker Pulsa needs no introduction. He is well known at the SZCZECIN Works from his decades of work there. Many residents of Szczecin also know him precisely through the mill. Today, however, Pulsa is no longer a stoker. He is, rather, the chairman of the SZCZECIN Works Employees' Trade Union. Along with the treasurer, Jerzy Tabaczynski, he "presides" in a building located right at the entrance to the plant. Workers drop in on their way when the need arises.... And nowadays workers have a lot of such "needs," even though the social commission convened by the director is still active at the mill. Commission there may be, but it cannot always help, hence the recourse to the union.

The union was registered on 14 January, and a general meeting took place on March 5, at which time a ten-member council and five-member presidium were elected. The entire membership elected the chairman by secret ballot. At the same time, a program of activity and a statute were approved, and it was decided that the chairman and the treasurer would be full-time staff members.

The question of including a union apprenticeship period was also considered, and the date 5 September was designated here. Whoever joins the union before that date will have the training period included.

Pulsa feels that /"at this point, you would think we would be moving mountains and we are still crawling. A lot of time is taken up with our doing current intervention work in housing and wage matters, resolving conflicts between employees and managers and resolving conflicts between foremen and employees. I am in charge of socio-occupational concerns and the everyday living conditions of the entire workforce. That is written in the statute and the workers know it, so they come around."/

As is the case with workers in many other plants, housing is a big problem here. At present the plant is building a housing complex on Obotrycki Street. Next year 55 families will move in; 400 families are waiting. We have to concern ourselves right now about how to assign places. It is enough to turn your hair gray and the union cannot come out looking good. Those that do not get housing are disappointed, and with good reason.

That was what happened recently during the voivodship governor's distribution of automatic washers, freezers, refrigerators, shavers, kitchen furniture, modular wall units and sections. For a week and a half the union doors did not close, and the union board met twice on this matter. The divisional managers and foremen reviewed the applications made by employees on this matter. According to the criteria that had been set up, an employee had to have a spotless work record. In addition, social work was a special value--and people are not very willing to do the latter. It was recognized that those that are committed should be given at least this much recognition.

/Tabaczynski says: "We want to look step by step at those questions that are within the union's control."/

A housing commission has already been appointed. Several people that do not belong to the union but that have something to say on these issues (that are, after all, issues of the entire workforce) are taking part in its work. A social commission will be appointed near the end of June on this same basis. The union likewise wishes to assume the work of financial aid-loan cashier.

The employee organization is developing slowly, but systematically. It now numbers 272 members. Conditions are already ripe for appointing divisional commissions. However, it was decided to wait a little while with this since elections to the employee council are still in progress, and union members are also involved in these elections. No one complains of having nothing to do.

We spoke on the day preceding the National Congress of Metallurgists' Trade Unions. Pulsa was at this meeting, that had been preceded by many others. Those attending the meeting discussed issues of basic importance for metallurgists, which issues are to be taken up by the federation.



The chairman asked: /"What mobilized us to set up this union? Above all, we are aware that we are a small plant, distant from the metallurgy center. Should we wait for talks with the ministry, on the burning issue of a collective structure? Before the unions were dissolved, the collective structure was declared, and on this basis we are confirming a plant code of regulations. Thus, this is a priority subject for federation talks with the ministry..."

It is also with the federation that the mill unionist likewise link their hopes for undertaking the questions contained in agreements signed earlier. The recommendations and proposals contained in these agreements signed by the ministry with former unions and supplemented by those that are now coming in is to be a basis for the talks of the federation and the ministry. Obviously, we must keep to reality, the current situation of the country. That is what Pulsa holds. And he says further:

/"We are counting on the fact that the union certainly will expand, that the majority of the workforce certainly will join the union. This will give us greater penetrative power, through our union and through the federation."/

#### New Developmental Stage of Union Movement

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 30 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by: Tyr]

[Text] /The regular meeting of the Voivodship Informational-Advisory Team for Trade Union Affairs under the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] was held in Gorzow. This team is chaired by Wacław Wojakowski, SILWANA ZPJ [Silk Plant] employee./ [in boldface]

As reported by /Stanisław Wtorek/ [in boldface], team secretary, the union movement in the Gorzow Voivodship, like the union movement throughout Poland, has entered a new stage of development. During the initial period, the team primarily provided the new union with legal aid, clarification and commentary on particular laws and helped prepare the union for registration. The chairman of unions already in existence, founding committees or initiatives groups held a series of training sessions, when there was a need for such activities.

It may now be said that the stage of registration and organizational preparations is slowly coming to an end. Trade unions have arisen in 268 of the just over 400 so-authorized plants in the Gorzow Voivodship. Total combined membership is 32,000 members. Election of union officials has taken place in 160 plants. Eleven proposals to register other trade unions are under consideration.

A new type of stage is the greater and greater promotion by a large number of trade groups of the creation of extra-plant union structures. This idea is the most widely promoted among PGR [State Farm] unionists in the farm sector,

where the unions have arisen the most rapidly and have come to include the greatest percentage of employees (from 60 to 70 percent).

Gorzow unionists in construction, light industry, the chemicals industry, the metals industry, the health service and education and finally labor cooperatives as well have expressed similar intentions.

This new stage engenders new expectations of the Voivodship Informational Advisory Team that operates under the WRN in Gorzow. In this regard, at the last meeting of the WRN Presidium, appropriate changes and additions were made in the team personnel make-up. Legal advisers were thanked for their close cooperation (their help will still be needed) and in their place, the most active and experienced union employees from the largest plants were invited to work on the team.

In this way the team will change its advisory-type profile. The kinds of advice provided will shift from formal-legal advice to more substantive advice, taking into consideration the changing experiences and problems closely related to the operation of trade unions.

These problems were touched upon during discussions at the meeting. The discussions covered technical-organizational assistance for unions to enable them to receive those with problems to be settled, the performance of advisory duties, the holding of meetings, training sessions and seminars and ways of expressing the needs of employee groups before the local authorities.

Voivodship Governor /Stanislaw Nowak/ [in boldface] replied to the recommendations and remarks that were made.

#### New Law Concerning Trade Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 5 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Kazimierz Iwaniec: "Important Centers of Democracy"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The new trade union law ensures these organizations union freedom. As expressed by the International Convention on Labor Organizations, this means both trade union self-government and independence. Article 3 of Convention No 87 is of fundamental importance here. It states that trade unions have the right to write their own statute and internal code of regulations, to elect freely their own representatives, to appoint their own board, to conduct activity and to set up work programs. Both principles--self-government and autonomy--were standardized comprehensively in the Sejm law on trade unions passed on 10 August 1982./

a common goal and mutual class interest. That is why relations between the party and unions must be a partnership./

The principle of independence from the administration must be observed resolutely. Independence ensures the partnership indispensable in mutual contacts with the administration on issues that are the object of joint interest.

/The union movement may not be an instrument of the administration, operating at its command and executing tasks it has set up, but should perform its duties so that its own character is preserved./

/An important question that has not been explained in full is that of the structure: trade unions—self-government./ In 1981, the Sejm passed a law on the employee self-government in state enterprises. /The powers emanating from the resolution on self-government overlap in part with those that are stipulated for trade unions. Thus, the law on the employee self-government must be updated./ In practice, the model of relations between trade unions and the self-government that is created must serve workforces well.

The law on the employee self-government imposes on its the duty of cooperating with union organizations. Issues of fundamental importance to the workforce must be examined by the self-government with the participation of these organizations. The law obliges the self-government to make resolutions on employee issues in conjunction with union organizations.

#### The Biala Furniture Factory

[Article by: (JAG)]

/Kazimierz Iwanowski/, [in boldface] chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the Biala Furniture Factory employees, said: "Our union organization numbers 110 members. With the approval of our plant management, we have appointed two commissions to allocate furniture and housing. We wish to assist our employees that have housing problems and we would like to help with the sale of furniture. As producers we have the right to such payments-in-kind.

"We worked together with the pensioners' and annuitants' circles to distribute gifts received from the PKPS [Polish Social Assistance Committee]. Recently an employee was to have been transferred to another position, but upon our recommendation this change was not made. Acting on behalf of working people, we cooperate with the management of our plant, with the employee self-government, the POP [Primary Party Organization] and with ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] young people.

"We would also like to belong to the Federation of Furniture Manufacturers [FPM]. We have begun working on this and our two representatives attended a meeting in Poznan where these questions were discussed. We have taken over the funds from former unions and we are paying our members statutory benefits."

#### The CHELM Cement Works

"We are working to resolve all current unionist issues," said /Maria Jozwik/ [in boldface], secretary of the Employees' NSZZ of the CHELM Cement Works. "We are also preparing to create a federation that would join together unionists from the subsector that produces construction materials."

"We have distributed vacation assignments and we are conducting bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] training, all in cooperation with the social commission. As a union we are paying out statutory benefits and we are undertaking efforts to assist workers in finding housing. We are conducting interviews and we are making suggestions on how to speed up the allocation of housing."

"We would like to help bring about the issuance of regulations that would ensure that an employee that has worked in our plant for more than 5 years, if transferred to a different position (due to an accident, for example) would retain his right to receive the same emolument."

#### The Zamosc Furniture Factory

[Article by: (s-ow)]

"They elected us to the new unions and it must be presumed that they are standing by their decision. But nothing is easy. Take, for example, the simple matter of a store in Bondyrz that is still closed. We held a fair with the WPHW [Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise]. Our employees bought many items, primarily ready-made clothing. Meanwhile, the WZSR [Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives] has refused to hold another fair, but we will put pressure on them," say the chairman of the NZSS [as published] Plant Council of the Zamosc Furniture Factory in Bondyrz /Wladyslaw Nedzynski/ [in boldface] and council secretary /Stanislaw Tymura/. [in boldface] "Moreover, we would like to set up a store on the site. We already have a location. We also have a spot in mind for a cafeteria and the necessary equipment. We are awaiting help in this matter from the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in Adamow or Krasnobrod. Another matter we are working on is additional bus routes from Zamosc to Bondyrz. At the present time, only one bus runs in both directions during a 24-hour period."



## Health Service Union Head Interviewed

[Interview with Zofia Saczynska, chairperson of the NSZZ of Health Service Employees of the Health Care Group [ZOZ] in Pulawy by K. Kasprzak; date and place of interview not given]

The largest union organization of health service employees in the Lublin Voivodship at present is the NSZZ of Health Service Employees of the ZOZ in Pulawy. It now numbers 273 members or nearly 20 percent of all employees in inpatient and outpatient medical care within the former Pulawy administrative district.

We addressed the following question to the union chairperson, Zofia Saczynska, also a dental surgeon at the Pulawy Elementary School No 5:

[Question] How did this social organization arise?

[Answer] Our union organization arose upon the foundation of a vigorously operating social commission. After the trade union law was issued last fall, persons interested in the creation of a new employee organization began to make themselves known to its representatives. When there were 13 such individuals, an initiatives group arose. In order to expand its activity, it quickly obtained a base at the Municipal Hospital in Pulawy, the largest health service facility in the region. Later a statute was written out, declarations were printed and nearly all inpatient and outpatient medical institutions within our region were visited. On 4 January 1983, the union was registered with the Lublin Voivodship Court. Then the founding committee was created and the chairpersonship was entrusted to my humble self. From that moment, we began to take part in all meetings of the ZOZ directorate. We held elections on 26 March, when we were 209 persons strong. At that time we elected a 17-person board and the function of chairperson was again entrusted to me. We have tried to take into account the interests of the majority of institutions in this social organ, but of necessity it is composed primarily of hospital employees.

[Question] Are union commissions in operation within your organization?

[Answer] Several days after the electoral meeting, the union board met and appointed five commissions. The social/daily living commission, directed by nurse Kazimiera Cegielko, has the biggest job (K. Cegielko is also the vice-chairperson of the union). The chairman of the commission for bhp affairs is buyer Wieslaw Borkiewicz. The commission for pensioners' and annuitants' affairs is chaired by pensioner Czeslaw Janusz. Administrative employee Teresa Sonta heads the commission for cultural, sports and recreational

affairs. There is also a commission for employment, wage and intervention affairs that I head.

[Question] What are the issues that most trouble union members?

[Answer] At present social/daily living issues are the biggest problem, especially housing. Upon the initiative of the ZOZ management, however, provisions were made recently to appoint a plant housing cooperative; about 200 health service employees joined. On 24 June, a meeting was held in conjunction with the ZOZ management, representatives of ZSMP circles and trade unions interested in this proposal. During the deliberations, 30 people living in the most squalid local conditions were singled out.

In the near future, they will appoint a cooperative board out of their own membership to work out the indispensable legal formalities. An ironclad area of union activity is the resolution of various kinds of interventionist matters. In our case, this work is made even more difficult by the distances that separate our facilities.

[Question] Recently in Lublin a voivodship consultative forum of health service employee trade unions was created. What is the purpose of this new organizational structure?

[Answer] The consultative forum was appointed at the end of May 1982, upon the initiative of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. It is made up of 22 union members of various Lublin Voivodship employee organizations. I am a member of the presidium of this group. The major objective of this consultative forum is to give an opinion of reform drafts of concern to health care organizations, issued within the Lublin Voivodship. Moreover, on 4 June 1983, a decision was made to begin work aimed at creating a Union Federation of Professional Health Care Employees. These issues were discussed during a two-day all-Poland meeting of authorized professional trade union representatives from health service institutions as well as delegates from the union organizations of the particular voivodships. This meeting took place on 25 and 26 June in Katowice. During the course of deliberations, it was proposed that a federation be appointed at the central level. A founding committee was created made up of 49 representatives from all voivodships. A presidium was also appointed. It will be chaired by Andrzej Czajczyk, an electrical technician from the Medical Equipment Repair Plant in Bytom. A working draft of the federation statute was also prepared.

[Question] What will the federation do?

[Answer] There are many joint matters that emanate from the specific nature of our work. Moreover, we have joint property--sanatoriums and vacation homes that require our immediate attention. We would also like to discuss problems that are troubling the entire health service community.

[Question] How do you personally like your new role?

[Answer] For many years I was a member of the plant council in the former subsector unions. I dealt with cultural issues at that time. I was in charge of the ABSYNT [Absinthe] Cabaret, at which primarily young employees from the Pulawy hospital performed. I loved this social work. Thus I have now been persuaded to move my colleagues to undertake new obligations. I am really very pleased that the new union is beginning to be something normal. It is gaining more and more status. There are moments, however, when I am unwilling, and I think I ought to be practicing my profession exclusively. However, as I take a serious look at our reality, I think that we will succeed in making it better and that is why I do not abandon social work.

#### The Defense of Individual Worker Issues

In accordance with article 30, paragraph 2 of the law passed on 8 October 1982, concerning trade unions (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, item 216), the scope of operation of plant union organizations includes taking a stand on all individual employees issues within the area regulated by the provisions of the labor law. This refers in particular to those issues that are discussed in article 38 (paragraph 1), article 52 (paragraph 3), article 53 (paragraph 4), article 107 (paragraph 1), article 112, article 113 (paragraph 2), article 119 (paragraph 2) and article 177 (paragraphs 1 and 4) of the labor code. The text of these regulations imposes upon a plant manager the duty of cooperating with the union organization in taking action to mold each employee's attitude to work.

The plant manager's failure to perform this obligation when terminating a job contract with the employee may be considered by the appeals commission for labor affairs to be a violating of the regulations on terminating job contracts and may result in the employee's regaining his position.

The union organization board's adoption of a substantive position on these cases with regard to an employee that is not a member of the trade union will depend upon the assessment of the board of this organization.

The duty to undertake cooperation emanates not only from the previously cited article 30 (paragraph 2) of the law on trade unions, but also from article 50 of the law, which states that "the rights stipulated in regulations to authorize the appropriate trade union echelons pass to the corresponding organs of trade unions stipulated in the law on trade unions and trade union statutes."

Lublin Food Cooperative Union Board Head Interviewed

[Interview with Stefania Sniezynska, chairperson of the union board of the Self-Governing Independent Trade Union of Employees of the Lublin "Spolem" Food Cooperative by M. Koscinski; date and place of interview not given]

In December 1982, the Self-Governing Independent Trade Union of Employees of the Lublin Food Cooperative [LSS] "Spolem" was registered. On 31 January 1983, the union board was elected. Stefania Sniezynska was elected chairperson, Sylwester Debiec was elected deputy chairperson and Renata Olejarczyk was elected secretary. Three issues commissions likewise were elected; a social/daily living commission, an employment and wage commission and a labor protection commission.

We asked chairperson Stefania Sniezynska:

[Question] How did you begin your union activity?

[Answer] The first steps were difficult. We proposed working according to a jointly prepared program. The primary objective underlying this program was the welfare of union members and other employees. We are in touch with all the human issues of our entire workforce. Every worker can count on us, although we are not in a position to resolve out of hand all problems that rankle LSS members and their families, pensioners and annuitants, since this exceeds current union potential.

[Question] How large is your union?

[Answer] At present we have more than 800 members. This is not a large figure, given that there 4,300 LSS employees. However, we have no intention of forcing people to join. It is an individual matter for every employee of the cooperative. I do believe, however, that by the end of 1983, the union organization will double in size, for people are aware that we are doing much for everyone.

[Question] Does the union have a full-time staff?

[Answer] Unfortunately, it does not, although soon it will become necessary to employ a person on the staff to handle union affairs. Thus far, the entire board has performed unions functions collectively. This cannot continue over the long term, however, since union problems arise every day.

[Question] What are the frontline issues?

[Answer] There are many issues that are important, urgent and also complex. We try to be present in all LSS elements. We take part in meetings of the board and cooperative council. We have an equal voice with others; it cannot be otherwise. Our first task was to take a careful look at employment and



wage policy. Many people were promoted. Repair-Construction Plant employees began to receive construction employee rates. This had an important impact on halting the cadre turnover. We tried to ensure that everyone would receive protective clothing, chemical cleaning agents and the like on time.

[Question] Are there recommendations that were not acted on by the previous union?

[Answer] There are such recommendations, many of them. A group of people is combing through them and is supplementing them. Some of them are to be implemented by the end of September 1983. One cannot put these matters off forever.

[Question] We have not yet spoken of social services for the LSS workforce and their family members.

[Answer] We do not yet have large financial resources available. We are using what we have to give material aid in the form of non-repayable grants. Thus far, 20 people have received such grants. They are not large sums, but we give out as much as we can afford at present. Obviously, families that find themselves in difficult straits financially receive them. We have given out more than 60,000 zlotys this year in statutory aid. In the course of 4 months this year, we allotted a total of 130,000 zlotys for social goals. We see that vacations, stays in sanatoriums and stays in summer children's camps are distributed properly. Here where the average wage does not exceed 5,400 zlotys with compensation, we add 300 zlotys per person to the vacation. We have about 100,000 zlotys for this purpose.

[Question] Does everyone that applies for a vacation get one?

[Answer] We wish this were so, but it is impossible. We had 1,393 slots for 1,805 requests, including 600 tourist vacations. We do not have our own vacation spot, but merely make use of the services of other plants that rent places in a facility on Lake Biale near Wlodawa, in Janow Lubelski, FWP [Workers Vacation Fund]. We are guaranteeing that the 174 people that did not get a vacation this year will get one next year. The majority of people (500) wanted to go to the coast, but we only received 170 openings for coastal vacations.

[Question] What is the situation regarding children's and youth summer camps?

[Answer] We received 314 applications and we were able to give a positive reply in 268 cases, i.e., we had no space for 46 people. We will be able to find a place for some of them, since some parents decided not to send their children to camp at the last minute and organized local recreational activities for them. In addition, traveling camps have been planned. In Osuchy (Zamosc Voivodship) we have our own camp, but it does not meet requirements.

The small rural school cannot hold all of the children. Many of them sleep in tents, which is not good for a longer period. We must look around for a better facility.

[Question] Is the union fulfilling the hopes that have been placed in it?

[Answer] The members themselves can answer that best. In my opinion, we are fulfilling expectations. It is certain that there will always be a group of people who are dissatisfied with our actions, who stand on the sidelines and are eager to see us stumble. However, we are doing much to implement the duties that emanate from the statute.

[Question] What are your plans for the near future?

[Answer] A founding group has been appointed for the plant housing and construction cooperative. Fifty-one people have joined this group, most of them young people. We approached the city mayor to give us a site for a planned construction of single-family dwellings.

[Question] What hampers your union work?

[Answer] It is hampered by the constant reorganization of trade, constant experimentation and the like. This stymies our work. People do not know where they will be working. The PHS [Equipment Trade Enterprise] and PPP [expansion unavailable] have come into existence; a new gastronomic enterprise has been created. Its new director has been with it less than a year, and the formal name of the enterprise has not yet been given. This is causing much confusion among the workforce. It is high time that these matters were resolved.

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## PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Work Time Assessment Indicated

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[PAP dispatch]

[Text] During the first few months of this year utilization of work time improved somewhat in comparison with the situation as it existed a year ago, and this was true of all key industries. Unworked time in terms of one worker declined by 5.8 hours, i.e., 9.5 percent, during the first quarter. This is especially worth noting, since this decline occurred despite the fact that the rigors of martial law were no longer impacting on work discipline. On the other hand, however, in many enterprises the situation regarding availability of supplies, which is important in determining the continuity of work, had greatly improved. But from this standpoint the improvement in utilization of work time is still not sufficient, either in relation to potential, or particularly as compared with the needs of the economy which, with difficulty, is extricating itself from the crisis.

The largest drop was in work time losses caused by downtimes--by 46.6 percent, which would indicate that work in the enterprises is proceeding more regularly as a result of more raw and other materials. But it should be noted that downtimes in statistics comprise one of the smallest items (0.3 percent of the nominal work time), and most of them are generally not recorded. Statistical data show that only 1.24 hours of downtime per one worker occurred during the first quarter.

The 5.2 percent decline of absences due to sickness gives more cause for rejoicing, because this is the main item in the structure of unworked time. In terms of one worker in the industrial group, this amounted to 37.51 hours, i.e., 2.1 hours less than a year ago. This decline confirms the complexity of sick absences, which are related not only to purely health factors, but also to social, economic and psychological factors, to the general atmosphere in the workplaces and in the country.

Another positive phenomenon was the large, 30.6 percent, reduction in work time losses due to excused absences for reasons other than sickness or maternity leaves. We lost 6.16 hours (in terms of one worker) in excused absences, i.e., 2.7 hours less than a year ago. Still these losses are too great, exceeding even (and during a period of increased births) the absences due to maternity leaves. We are referring here to excuses for social work, for training purposes, and for taking care of

personal and family matters. Sometimes these excused absences are necessary, but many of them could be avoided if, among the workers themselves as well as in the organizations and offices asking people to report in various matters, there was the recognition that working time should be, first and foremost, time devoted to one's job. In any case, this pertains not only to the excused absences included in the statistics, but also to the various kinds of community work performed on the job--in the workplace but during working hours.

Last year the number of unexcused absences dropped, and very considerably, which was understandable under conditions of martial law, and also as compared with 1981, during which work discipline was not respected very highly. But this year these absences again rose considerably. True, this continues to have a small effect on work time losses (0.2 percent of nominal work time), but the rate of its growth in the plants of some ministries is beginning to become disturbing because it may indicate a relaxation of work discipline. The increase in unexcused absences was largest in the chemical industry (over 80 percent), and then in the metallurgical, mineral, electromachinery, and light industries (over 50 percent in all of them).

Time losses no lower than these, which make up total losses for various reasons, occur due to improper utilization of the workday of the people in the plants. Even in the late 1970's it was estimated that they amounted to about 10 percent, and sometimes even 20 percent, of the time in one work shift. There is nothing to indicate that the studies now being conducted will show better figures. The losses are probably even greater. Even if we excluded the idle time caused by supply conditions, for which the workers cannot be blamed, there would still remain a tremendous margin of time wasted because of inefficient work organization. Silence surrounds this subject, despite the reform which should lean towards these improvements in efficiency, which entail the least expense. The worker now has to work an average of over 150 hours a year less than in 1979, due to the increase in the number of nonwork Saturdays. The higher the value of work time should be.

#### Blue-Collar Pensioners Returning to Work

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Ewa Zawislak]

[Text] We did not expect that the guidance clinic devoted to employment of annuitants and pensioners would do so much business. The line in front of the editorial office began to form an hour before the guidance clinic was to open. We were able to take care of all of the people who came to us personally, but we are sure that we did not answer all of the telephone calls, because the phones rang incessantly and long-distance calls interrupted local calls. Even today, those interested in the subject are visiting us and there are still a lot of telephone calls. The basic conclusion from our clinic is as follows: /many pensioners are looking for work because they cannot make ends meet./ [in boldface].

--I am on early retirement for 2 years after having worked 30 years. I want to work to supplement my retirement because I do not have enough to live on. My husband is on pension. We have two teen-age sons in school. I cannot raise them on the 6,000 zlotys that I get from ZUS [Social Security Agency]--says a former bookkeeper.



--I want to return to work full-time--explains a toolmaker. --I worked 40 years, but my pension is only 6,500 zlotys. That is not enough to live on. I have to add to it.

--I cannot live on a 5,300 zlotys pension. I have a son in a vocational school. I worked for many years in a school as a senior caretaker. I was a secretary for 8 years. Can you find some kind of work for me? --asks a woman who also took advantage of the benefits offered by the early-retirement ordinance.

The early-retirees, as they are popularly called, constituted a substantial group among those seeking help.

--I took "early" retirement because I thought I wanted to take a rest. I have enough of this vacation. My family and my garden are not a substitute for my job--an FSC [truck factory] former employee says in explaining why he wants to go back to work.

A construction engineer who has been pensioned for over a year also wants to be with people.

--I am alone, without a wife. The children are on their own already, and I have grandchildren. I am still worth something. I can even be a porter, or whatever, it makes no difference. I will add to my small pension and not have to just sit at home.

The hastiness in making a decision to retire early--it appears from the statements of those participating in the clinic--was often motivated by the general atmosphere of uncertainty in the labor market, and worker-employer friction. The recent ordinance which makes it possible for these two retirees to return to work on a full-time basis, is not synonymous with their returning to their old jobs.

--How am I supposed to return to my old job? The manager urged me to take early retirement, so is he supposed to take me back now?

--I will not go back to PKS [State Motor Transport]. They would laugh at me, that at first all I could talk about is retirement! Retirement! And now I want to be an ordinary worker again.

Unwillingness to return to former workplaces, in which vacancies remain when the retirees left, was rather common. It seems that the atmosphere in the workplaces is at fault here, as shown by the opinion expressed as follows, also in the guidance clinic.

--It is not right that you want to bring the early-retirees back to work. And give them half-time work? One woman came back like that and now gets more money than I do. We are the same age. Why create such differences? She went, so let her go, let her bear the consequences of her decision.

The social cross-section of the people visiting the guidance clinic was very diverse. Men and women are looking for work, people of various age. The youngest was a

27-year-old pensioner from disability group 2, eligible for employment in a special position in a disabled-persons' cooperative. His financial situation (three people in the family, living off a pension only) and helplessness in finding employment forced him to take advantage of our assistance.

One pensioner, almost 80 years old and working half-time in a school, came to make sure that the new regulations do not take away his right to work in addition to receiving his pension.

The occupational specialties and the education of those taking advantage of the guidance clinic varied greatly. Concrete-block layers, locksmiths, construction engineers, drivers, bookkeepers, economists, teachers, unskilled workers, watchmen, warehousemen. Others who visited us included: A refrigeration-industry specialist and a railroad crafts specialist. Actually, all of them had many years of experience, often in one place of employment. There were among them those who enjoyed good health and those who had disability certificates.

#### What Kind of Work Are Retirees Looking For?

At the guidance clinic we were host to the deputy director of the Provincial Administration Employment Department, Wieslaw Rzymowski, and the manager of the City Administration Employment Department in Lublin, Roman Luczak.

In addition to information on regulations--how much can a retiree earn, to whom does the ordinance on part-time employment apply--they also gave concrete advice on how one should seek a referral to a job and where full-time or half-time positions are open.

--I am looking for light work--it may be physical. A former economist expressed her requirements thusly.

--Is there some kind of work for a white-collar worker?

--I belong to disability group 3 and have a spinal disease. Where can I find a job? -- those were the questions.

The jobs most sought were as a porter, watchman, or fireman. Manager Luczak had such offers, but, we think, there weren't enough to go around. Several people opted to take a job in trade, the drivers were offered jobs in their line of work, and the toolmaker immediately got a full-time position. Five people were sent to the Castle, which was looking for this number of workers to guard the exhibits. Several retirees were persuaded to take "work at home" jobs, for which they also received machines. In general, it must be said, physical work was not avoided despite vocational qualifications for white-collar employment. As a result of Thursday's clinic, many people found work and many vacancies in workplaces were filled.

What was most important to us was to be able to reach as many retirees as possible with information on needs and conditions of employment. This is vital because of their difficult financial situation, and because many workplaces are suffering for lack of cadre.

The need to disseminate information on the regulations governing these matters was proven not only by the number of people who came to the clinic, but also by questions of the cadre people telephoning to us with problems such as: Can early-retirees be employees, what are these special positions, how much can we pay, does this apply only to half-time jobs, etc. We believe that the guidance clinic fulfilled its task.

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#### What it is Worth Knowing

The official document governing this matter is the Council of Minister's ordinance dated 7 March 1983. Legal Gazette No 17, 2 April 1983.

--Annuitants and pensioners can be employed without suspension of benefits provided their employment is less than full-time, is seasonal, or casual.

--The amount of money earned is limited this year to 5,400 zlotys monthly. This is one-twelfth of the lowest annual emolument. If this sum is exceeded, the annuity or pension is reduced by the amount of the excess.

--In job positions for which there is a shortage of workers, 96,000 zlotys a year (i.e., 8,000 zlotys a month) can be earned in socialized workplaces.

--Lists of positions for which workers are in short supply in the Lublin Province will be compiled after 15 June 1983. Information is now being sought from the 50 largest work plants in the Lublin Province as to job listings. It is worth knowing that the managers of the work plants, after obtaining the opinions of the trade unions, will go to the local administration for determination that the positions in which there are vacancies are indeed jobs in which worker shortages exist. This initiative is anticipated by the Provincial Administration Employment Department.

--Nothing stands in the way of employing early-retirees. Both teachers, white-collar workers, as well as blue-collar workers who took early retirement, can work part-time or return to work on a full-time basis. They can take blue-collar or white-collar jobs.

--Return to full-time employment for 2 years entitles the employee to recomputation of his annuity or pension on the basis of earnings obtained in those 2 years.

--A retiree who takes a full-time position is required to notify his ZUS office.

--A workplace employing an annuitant or pensioner is required to notify the pension office that the retiree or annuitant has begun to work, number of hours of work-time, and amount of emolument.

--A pensioner or annuitant who is certified as disabled obtains his job referral from the Health Care Group, to which he should apply with his medical certificate.

--The employment offices offer jobs for retirees in accordance with notifications of vacancies submitted by workplaces.

## Blue-Collar Workers' Absenteeism Assessed

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Adam Kilian: "A Million Absentees"]

[Text] Each day throughout the country almost a million people are absent from work! In each quarter the number of unexcused-absence days exceeds 1.8 million. In many industrial, construction and transportation plants, workday utilization approaches 60-70 percent, and in some it is even lower.

In Wroclaw Province enterprises during the past 5 months, for every 100 workers directly employed in production, 9,549 hours were unworked for various reasons, including downtimes, sick leaves, and unexcused absences. In ELWRO Wroclaw Electronic Works this average was exceeded: 11,800 hours were unworked there. In the Wroclaw Furniture Factories, 11,400 hours; in Hutmen, 11,300; in the Polar Mechanized Home Equipment Works, 11,200. Other figures are even more disturbing. For example, for every 100 workers in the Pollena Household Chemical Products Works, there were 465 hours of unexcused absences; in Archimedes Combined Pneumatic Equipment Works, 258; and in the Meat Plants, 207.

The situation in construction is worse than in industry. Construction crews can erect an 11-story building in about 1,400-1,500 hours, but how many of these hours do they waste?

It turns out that these very plants in which work time is poorly utilized are the ones which are demanding new workers and complain about being shorthanded.

Appeals for work discipline have not helped much. An incentive system is needed which would eliminate these unwarranted or unexcused absences. Some Lower Silesia workplaces are making attempts in this direction, by improving the wage system, and above all, the system of bonuses.

It is said that time is money. Today, in our economic situation, time counts at least double.

It will determine restoration of market balance and a faster way out of the crisis.

9295

CSO: 2600/1157



AMBASSADOR TO USSR OBSERVES NATIONAL DAY

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Article

PM250812 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 83 First Edition p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Kociolek, Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, pegged to Poland's 22 July Day of Rebirth anniversary: "Festival of the Polish People"]

[Excerpt] The struggle for Poland's new sociopolitical system and its place in Europe and in the world was intense and long. Poland's new socialist reality has taken shape throughout the post-war period. Poland has developed through the people's intensive daily labor. Profound social, political, and economic changes have been implemented and our alliances have been consolidated. All this has guaranteed the continuation of socialist transformations.

The depth and pace of those transformations, however, have been impeded by subjective mistakes permitted by the party. Those mistakes weakened the party, its Marxist-Leninist and internationalist orientation and ties with the masses. The party was weakened and the socialist structures in society and the state were weakened. That provided an opportunity for increased activeness by forces of another orientation--an antisocialist and nationalist one.

Recent years' events have shown that those forces are considerable. They enjoy the broad support of the Western imperialist states. Imperialism has not abandoned its class aims and interests. Internal counterrevolution posed a grave threat to Poland's socialist gains. As Comrade W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has noted: "Poland is now in the front line of the global front of the class struggle. The United States harms Poland wherever and however it can. Thereby it wants to dismantle the postwar peace settlement worked out at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. But nothing will come of it. People's Poland will not submit to external pressure. It will not be a pawn in someone else's cynical game."

We are assessing the strengths and sphere of influence of the counterrevolution in Poland soberly and in a principled way. The party and forces allied to it were compelled to resort to extraordinary methods and the introduction of

martial law. The Polish People's Army shouldered responsible duties. Our better experience has shown that if the party line is not consistent, principled and, at the same time, flexible, certain reforming errors can become a threat to socialism. And at the same time, that experience showed that by combining principledness with flexibility it is possible to emerge from the most difficult situation by means of one's own efforts and with the support of one's allies. Our party, in conjunction with its allied forces, the people's state and the Polish Army, fulfilled its duty to the people and its internationalist duty toward its friends and allies.

We are greeting the 39th anniversary of Poland's rebirth with substantial improvements. Certain improvements have been achieved in the economy, particularly in raw materials and food production. We have begun to improve the fulfillment of our trade commitments to our partners, particularly with regard to the USSR and the socialist countries. Complex problems of activating industry and of developing long-term cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal countries are being resolved. The planning and management mechanisms are being improved.

Social life is returning to normal. The process of setting up new trade unions is underway. The PZPR and the other fraternal parties, together with their allied forces, are building a patriotic movement of national rebirth with the aim of resolving the main tasks on the basis of socialism's eternal principles. Loyalty to those principles and a skillful struggle to implement them will ensure success.

Success will be determined by strengthening the party's prestige and its leading role in the life of the state and the people. The militant solution of questions of party building and of improving the party's ideological work will be of great significance.

Progress in the cause of normalizing life helps to stabilize society's attitudes. However, the counterrevolution has not been completely defeated and it is necessary to show vigilance and determination.

Socialist Poland is loyally performing its alliance and internationalist duty. We are strengthening the country's defense capability. The Polish People's Army is successfully fulfilling its tasks in the combat training and education of personnel. The Polish Army's combat alliance with the other Warsaw Pact countries' armies, primarily the illustrious Soviet Army, is constantly strengthening.

We are living under conditions of an acute exacerbation of international tension. Imperialism is taking the path of military preparations. It is waging a psychological, propaganda, and economic war against the socialist community countries. Detachments of latter-day "crusaders" have hurled themselves into the fray with clamorous slogans.

The socialist countries occupy a clear and principled position. That position was reaffirmed by the meeting of socialist states' leading party and state figures in Moscow. We are following the common course of the policy of peace

and the relaxation of tension; we consider it impermissible to upset the military balance that has been achieved and we support the inviolability of present-day Europe's territorial and political realities. And no one will succeed in disturbing our unity.

On the Polish national holiday, a holiday for our Soviet friends, too, we can say that socialist Poland is emerging from the crisis, it is no longer weak and our community is strengthening. Our party is guided in that respect by the very same thought that Yu. V. Andropov expressed at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum in these words: "As for the socialist community countries--our closest friends and allies--we are of one opinion that life demands not simply the broadening of cooperation but also the enhancing of its quality and efficiency."

#### Television Address

LD221539 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 83

[From the Vremya newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Polish people are today celebrating their national holiday, the Day of Polish Rebirth. Stanislaw Kociolek, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic in the USSR, is participating in our program.

[Kociolek] [Camera shows Kociolek addressing television audience] Dear comrades and friends: Addressing you on Poland's Day of Rebirth, I am very glad to say that we have recently achieved a perceptible improvement in the state of the Polish economy, especially in the sphere of food and the extraction industry. In the current year, trade exchange with fraternal countries has increased considerably. New prospects are being targeted in economic cooperation. Considerable progress has been attained in restoring the trade unions. The sociopolitical situation is stabilizing. The field of action of counter-revolutionaries has been radically restricted. Our party is fulfilling its leading role more effectively. The latest events have confirmed the stabilization of the country and the prestige of socialist Poland. In a word, things are improving in Poland.

The successes have been fought for and won through struggle. Friends, first and foremost the Soviet Union, came to our aid. I express profound gratitude to you, Soviet friends, for your help and determined support.

We are now moving to a new stage in Poland. We have to tackle energetically those problems that are still unresolved. The pressure exerted upon Poland by the United States and some of its NATO allies has not succeeded, nor will it. Although a whole epoch has passed, they still think that they are dealing with a side that has no friends, and that they can impose something upon it, as it were during the Munich deal. Unfortunately, they have learned nothing from history.

Comrades, the present crusaders want to halt the progress of history. They are planning war and are arming themselves. The airwaves and press are saturated with hatred toward socialism, the sole hope of mankind.

In the struggle to defend socialism and thwart sinister imperialist plans, People's Poland is together with the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries. In these days, we bow our heads together with you, friends, before the soldiers of the great Battle of Kursk, before the veterans. Soon, in October, we shall celebrate together the 40th anniversary of entry into the fighting near Lenino of the first division of the Polish Army. During that harsh time we were together, in blood and fire. The new Poland was born in brotherhood-in-arms and in political alliance. This Poland stands and will continue to stand on that same foundation of alliance, cooperation, and brotherhood-in-arms. I turn to you, comrades, with cordial words of friendship and solidarity. I send to you the best and most fraternal feelings. All the best to you.

CSO: 1800/1558



SEJM DEPUTY DISCUSSES DRAFT LAW ON INTERIOR MINISTER

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 83 p 3

[Abridged text of speech delivered at 14 July Sejm session by Deputy Henryk Kostecki, PZPR]

[Text] "The proposed law," emphasized deputy-reporter Henryk Kostecki (PZPR, Nowy Sacz constituency), "is developing and is making concrete those provisions of the Constitution which cover the competence, duties, and tasks concerning the security of the state and the public order." The external and domestic security of the state, its constitutional socialist principles, peace, law and public order, the life and health of the citizens are values requiring special protection as well as effective legal safeguards. The fight against propagandistic aggression, intelligence penetration, and other actions of this type directed by foreign centers and powers adverse to Poland and socialism, as well as the struggle against domestic criminal offenses, economic and speculative offenses dangerous to public order and finally the elimination of conditions leading to such actions, must be a subject of constant concern and attention by the authorities and by all of society.

At the same time the government is devoting much attention to the problem of improving the organization and functioning of the leading and central organs of the state administration. The modern and complex regulation of the problems of protection, state security, and public order is necessary also because the basic legal acts determining the position, duties and competence of the minister of internal affairs as well as of the bureaus under him originated nearly 30 years ago, are incomplete and in part not up to date, and do not meet current needs.

"The government draft," continued the delegate, "defines the position of the minister of internal affairs in the structure of the principal organs of the state administration and simultaneously entrusts to him the implementation of the tasks of particularly significant importance in the life of the state and its citizens. Among these tasks are the protection of state security, the fight against spying, terrorism, subversion, and sabotage, as well as the protection of other actions in agreement with the constitutional, socialist principles of the PPR; protection of life, health and the property of the

citizens as well as public property; protection of public order including peace and order in public places and on public transportation facilities, and also the regulation of motor traffic; the fight against other crimes and misdemeanors; crime prevention in the broad sense; protection of the state borders including organization and supervision of socio-administrative activities remaining under the management of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Moreover, the draft assigns the minister of internal affairs supreme authority over fire prevention as well as joint participation in dealing with the effects of natural disasters, establishing simultaneously that the particular extent of his authority will be determined by the Council of Ministers in the process of legislating this proposal.

The tasks presented above will be implemented by the Security Service and the Citizens' Police as well as by the military units under the minister, and by the fire department. The law decrees, from a legal aspect, the functioning of the Security Service engaged first of all in protection of state security as well as exposing and fighting threats and crimes threatening this security.

The proposed law establishes simultaneously a new concept of the system of local structures under the minister of internal affairs. These organs will be: Heads of provincial, regional, municipal, and neighborhood offices of internal affairs as well as the police commanders and police stations of the Citizens' Police.

The proposed system of local structures in the area of protection of state security and public order should bring about an improvement in their work as well as assure better joint action with other organs involved in the pursuit of justice. For example, the regional offices of internal affairs would include in their range of activity the area of several basic level units in the voivodship, and would correspond to the areas of activity of the public prosecutor's office, the courts, and governing bodies for criminal matters. The heads of offices and commanders of the Citizens' Police will also give, at the request of the proper national councils or their reporting organs information concerning an evaluation of public order.

With regard to the special character and importance of the matters remaining in the area of activity of the organs of security and public order, the draft simultaneously defines the authority of the officials of these organs during execution of the work assignments and also equips them with the particular necessary tools. Most of them are authority and means already in existence, used on the basis of legal instruments of varying importance, from laws and decrees to internal regulations. Among the new authorizations worthy of note is the right to search persons and effects, and also check loads in ports, on roads as well as in airline, road, train, and water transportation facilities. This should lead to a more effective fight against the growing wave of crimes committed on public transportation facilities which threaten travel safety, especially on airlines.

The complex formulation of these powers, consistent with the whole legal system, in one legislative act, will bring this problem to public attention and facilitate understanding of the established goals. Raising several principles

and procedures to the level of legal formulations will create stronger bases of legally governed activity of the staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs serving to protect the basic interests of citizens--their life, health, and possessions.

The socially highly destructive phenomena of alcoholism, drug addiction, and a parasitical way of life require still more firm and decisive actions. The legal instruments which the proposed law will give to the Citizens' Police will produce a need for a thorough knowledge of all communities potentially threatened by crime, and especially those which are dangerous for children and youth, and will allow direct interventions in all necessary cases, with a simultaneous further improvement of preventive activity in this area.

In the fight against crime, in activities assuring law and order and the security of the state and of its citizens, the staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs count on the help and joint activity of state organizational and cooperative units as well as on the aid of social organizations and of citizens. This help recently has become more widespread and is effecting an improvement in safety and public order as well as a sociopolitical and economic stabilization of our country. The importance and social sense of such assistance, as a form of support for the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, is also shown by the fact that the need for its assurance is being raised to the level of a legal measure.

The deputy stated that the law, together with an amendment, foresees the introduction of small changes in the law on the duties of the officials of the Citizens' Police. This recruiting change has as its goal assigning to persons serving in the ranks under the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the basis of allocative needs authority which in the area of the duties performed by them will serve the officials of the Citizens' Police.

At the same time, the law will require the minister of internal affairs to make a particular designation of the manner of utilizing assigned authority, and also a determination of the duties which will be assigned to the members of the Voluntary Reserve of the Civic Militia [ORMO] in this respect.

Resolution of the difficult problems concerning the protection of safety and public order cannot occur only through use of force. Aside from necessary actions for keeping public order, extensive preventive action must be introduced in the form of dialogue, warnings, briefings, protecting citizens from collision with the binding legal order.

Still, in particular situations, the officials of the bureaus of the minister of internal affairs must be equipped with the instruments provided for by law. This concerns especially means of direct force. So far, the chance of their being used has resulted from legal authorization of a general character, their types determined by the Council of Ministers, and particular rules of use contained in unpublished internal papers, only the rules for the use of firearms, established by a decree of the minister of internal affairs, being elicited.

The present proposed law defines the types of, and basic rules for, use of all measures guaranteeing the efficiency of the activity of the bureaus of the ministry. Coverage by law of the problem of the means of direct force, that is means serving to force compliance with rules and regulations is an immeasurably important matter from the social point of view. The citizen should find out about the types of measures and the rules for their use from the official legislative daily and not from more or less credible stories of third parties or from enemy radio broadcasts in the Polish language. In practice, application of forceful measures occurs relative to a very small part of society, which in breaking the law or disturbing social order shows a particular opposition to rules and regulations. Use of these measures serves all citizens, assures them peaceful work and relaxation, and the safety of their home.

Giving legal significance to the use of direct coercive measures creates in social consciousness a guarantee of legally governed activity of the organs which will be able to utilize them. This also will not be without meaning for the officials of these organizations who, forced in particular situations to apply such means, will be convinced that their activity is based on law, serves society, and that society accepts it.

At the same time, the proposed law authorizes the minister of internal affairs to utilize in special situations the forces of the Citizens' Police as well as other units organized for the protection of public law and order.

The deputy proposed making a second amendment, this time to Article 14 of the draft which concerns the possibility of using in particular situations technical measures in order to record and preserve evidence. The minister of internal affairs could govern the use of such means in consultation with the attorney general of the PPR.

The designation, in the law, of power and means serving the organizations and the officials implementing tasks in the area of protection of state security and public order is a significant guarantee of law and order. The submission of the staff of the ministry to special control by the Council of Ministers will be favorable to them.

"The proposed law should contribute," stressed Deputy Kostecki, "to a further strengthening of state security, domestic law and order and the public peace, to a more effective fight against common crime, different types of harmful economic activities, and also to the full protection of the basic interests of the citizens."

9915

CSO: 2600/1099



POLLS SHOW MOST WORKERS IGNORANT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 31, 30 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Zdzislaw Malak: "Self-Government--What Do They Think of It?"]

[Text] In discussions on the subject of reasons for the cyclical atrophy of self-governed institutions in our country, various reasons limiting or hampering their development were pointed out. It appears that two opinions were particularly popular. The first one claimed that the main reason for successive failures of self-governmental reforms, were the attitudes and actions of the institution managers for whom introduction of self-government principles constitutes a curtailment of their ambitions and their actions, requiring difficult adjustments to the new rules of the game. Self-government, so understood, was considered a method of control, attempting to make decisions in the establishment. Individual interests of the business sector and the administrative managements, as well as characteristic groups in specific areas and divisions, created the feeling that opposition in the administrative and managerial apparatus to the self-government, was somewhat a natural byproduct of society's socialistic pattern. Failures of the self-governmental reforms were attributed to alleged structural socialistic characteristics, which instead of freeing, dampen individual and social initiative.

In addition to this attitude there is another opinion, the adherents of which believe that the main reason for the successive failures in attempts to broaden influence in self-governing institutions, are the intentional efforts of the government aiming to limit or block self-governments in a variety of fields. In these instances, obvious in particular, are methods employed by authorities in the seventies, when self-governments were brought down to the role of decorations. In spite of slogans professing society's democratic life style in a variety of fields, extensive centralization in all segments of the system followed.

Discussions on the subject of reasons for hitherto self-governmental failures was however incomplete and one-sided. Avoided generally was the fact that opponents of socialism benefited from the self-governmental slogans, evident particularly in recent years. More often mentioned were the dangers arising from bureaucratic and centralizational tendencies, than on barriers of a completely different nature, namely, resulting from the lack of knowledge on the basics of self-government of the work crews.

The importance of the problem is evidenced by the sociological findings which were conducted in February and March of 1983 by the Institute for Basic Marxism-Leninism Problems of CC PZPR. The survey involved a number of industrial plants, construction and agriculture establishments within the whole territory of Poland, categorized according to production level, size, advancement in the process of becoming self-governed by the crews and also according to activities of the labor force in recent years.

#### Shortage of Adversaries But...

Results of the investigations have confirmed that the idea of self-government is secure and literally a universal component of the employees' consciousness. It can be said that the concept of labor's cooperation in plant management really has no opponents. Generally, over 90 percent of the participants surveyed (in some establishments approximate 98 percent) declared themselves for the need of workers' self-government in places of their employment. In spite of present existing limitations in self-government operations and indications of difficulties in its functioning, to the question: "Is it good that in your plant self-government is operative?", 84 percent responded in the affirmative. Accompanying these opinions of the general majority questioned, (64 percent) that: "The more active the workers are in their participation in management, the better it will be." Only about 5 percent of the respondents were adherents to the idea of intrusting management of the institutions to the directorship, with no meddling by the workers. At the same time, however, a large segment (22 percent), although they declared themselves for worker participation in management of establishments, simultaneously were of the opinion, that not too much hope should be attached to this venture.

With this background, there are some interesting answers to the question: Do the workers sharing similar views to those interviewed, have at this time any influence on the decisions in industry? Only 2.8 percent of the questioned were of the opinion that workers in similar positions to theirs, affect all general decisions of management, while 5.4 percent believed that this influence pertained to many matters of general administration. It can be concluded that answers of this kind were given in the survey by participating staff members of the establishments management. On the other hand,

Every third participant of the survey claimed, that workers in positions same as his have no influence on matters in their place of employment, and also every third one believed that this influence, if it exists, pertains only to his work classification. This information also indicates that the requirements for workers' influence in directing establishments are not satisfied.

Employees of the surveyed establishments do not believe, however, that their participation in business decisions should involve all areas of its activities. About 34 percent of the interviewed thought that workers' influence should be limited to matters concerning their departments and 32 percent that it should include most of the affairs of general management. The position that the workers should not have a voice on any matters of the enterprise was supported by not quite 2 percent of the polled members.

#### Knowledge--Weak; Expectations--Various

Nearly unanimous support for the concept of workers' self-government and the divergent opinions to questions regarding a realistic composition of influences demanded on the decisions of establishments, give rise to questions as to how much knowledge is required for the aspirations and declarations on the subject of entitlements, capabilities and responsibilities of self-government. In this area, results of findings are not too optimistic. It is evident that only a small segment in the institutions knows its current rights of self-government. To the question: "Do you know the existing rights, privileges and responsibilities of self-government?", only 8 percent of the questioned answered "yes", and approximately 17 percent: "probably so." In other words, only every fourth worker was acquainted with the subject. However, a decided majority (about 67 percent) described their knowledge of the subject as limited, or else, none at all. In some of the plants surveyed the percentage of people not having even an elementary knowledge about self-government was still greater. Even in a plant where self-government was reestablished under martial law conditions, over half of the surveyed affirmed that they did not know much about the subject. The above facts create justified anxieties, equally if it involves going beyond declarations for interest in self-government, as well as the effectiveness of informational-propaganda efforts in the field of work establishments and in the centers of public information.

Consequences stemming from this lack of knowledge have been observed in a large number of the respondents: inability to segregate the obligations of self-government from the aims and functions of other organizations in the work establishment, such as, trade unions and party organizations. Analyzing the expectations of the crews from self-government, indicates that they are not regarded as equal in importance. In addition to functions and assignments contemplated by the law on self-government, activities which are contrary to the legal regulations are sought. This concerns the proposal requested by three fourths of the respondents to have self-government active in social-existential matters (an explanation to this might be, the lack of trade unions in the establishments surveyed, or the negative appraisal of work performed by social services in the plant.) In discussing the benefits expected from self-government for the labor force, it is necessary to add, although it differs with popular convictions, that with the strong accent on demands for the autonomy of self-government, a large segment of labor recognizes the need for cooperation of self-government, both with the party organization in the plant (64 percent), as well as with the trade unions (85 percent).

At the time of the survey, in the majority of enterprises, self-governments had already been in existence and were functioning; in some areas, however, they were just being reinstated. With this in mind, we can explain the fact that a comparatively small portion of the workforce knew the members of the labor council. Nearly 70 percent of the surveyed participants stated that they do not know any, or else know only a few representatives comprising the membership of the labor council. Concentration of self-governmental activities on organizational matters (including elections) can explain the reason why three fourths of the survey participants could not enumerate the problems

occupying the self-governing body. We can presume however, that despite the minimal percentage (1.3 percent) of votes opposing the reinstatement of self-government, in a portion of the workers there is predominant an attitude of disinterest in its future performance.

#### Results Will Be Decisive

The above development is undoubtedly to a great degree an unintentional result of intensive propagandizing of slogans in the 1970's for improvements in the quality of living, a model of individual consumption, satisfying the awakened consumption requirements--which was intended by the proclaimers supposedly to create an increase in production activities. An improvement in the quality of living in the beginning of the 70's consolidated the opinion that these policies are reasonable and that society is well and competently governed. Hopes for an increase in production and work efficiency by launching the example of "adequate living" were not fulfilled. Resulting from this, was the weakening of social attitudes and a decrease in society's activities. Following this, the idea of participation in self-government was pushed into a margin of disinterest.

How strong and fast is the conviction in society's awareness, that there is a need for a trustee method of governing is shown by the results of this investigation and those conducted in 1982. In the present inquiries nearly three fourths of the responding, confirmed that the people are mostly interested in being well governed. Only 22 percent of institutional laborers contended that they are more interested in governmental participation (the latest indicator is close to the percentage of response acquainted with privileges of self-government.)

Opinions of those questioned on the subject of their colleagues readiness to participate in workers' self-governing, also confirm quite a widespread in attitudes among the passive and indifferent. About 23 percent of industrial workers judged that among their colleagues, many are ready to involve themselves in self-government, while 45 percent claimed that only a few of those willing would be found. A third did not have an opinion in this matter.

Summarizing the above information, you can come to the conclusion that self-government in enterprises, for the time being, has meager support in society. It can be evaluated on the average of one-fifth to one-fourth of the workforce. Development of workers' self-governments requires efforts in informational propaganda, which would arouse the interest of the workers in their practical applications and promote willingness to engage in its functions.

Obviously positive effects on the opinions of the workers will have a fundamental bearing on the success of self-governments, providing conditions for their functioning within the enterprises is in accord, as we know, with party politics, and also with the enactments of the 9th Congress of PZPR, together with the legislative regulations pertaining to enterprise activities in the conditions of reform. Without considering the virtues of self-government as being the ultimate solution in all facets of public life, we have once again to emphasize that much more attention than heretofore should be directed to the attitudes and expectations of the workforce (and to the general population) to elevate political culture and the skills in governing in concert with the principles of socialistic democracy.



POLAND

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER BLASTS OFFICIALS' IGNORANCE OF WORKERS

AU091335 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Jul 83 p 7

[Interview with Kazimierz Kowalski, PZPR Central Committee member and electrician in the Gniezno Tanning Plant, by Marek Henzler: "Our Demands Were Radical"--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kowalski] I am 45 and have been working in this tanning plant for 27 years. I joined the party in 1963 and up to August 1980 I did not discharge any party functions, not even in my plant.

[Henzler] How was it then that you were sent to the party congress and that you won most votes in the voting?

[Kowalski] My views were rather radical, and this was what people liked. After all, I was and am one of the many bitterly disappointed individuals. My shop party organization voted that I should attend the city conference, where I thought I would end my career. But this was not to be because I was elected to go to Poznan and from there to the party congress and to the Central Committee, which surprised me out of my wits.

[Henzler] How many members are there in your plant party organization?

[Kowalski] At the moment there are 238 members in our party. Before August 1980 there were about 400, but this does not mean that 160 surrendered their party cards. Many left the party because they were retired ahead of time or went to work in the party organizations in the field. About 50 people surrendered their party cards, but it is not true that they were the worst members. I would say they were the most bitterly disappointed ones. There are fewer members in our organization now because fewer young people apply for membership and because we do not accept just anyone who wants to join. We accept one or two people a month. There will be more candidates willing to join--valuable candidates--when people see that all party congress resolutions have been implemented. This would be a success the party needs badly. This is what we are dreaming of. This is the most important task for the party and for its authorities in the second half of the present term.

[Henzler] Will you succeed?

[Kowalski] The workers and peasants in the Central Committee believe that we will succeed. They will take the party authorities to account on this. We will not accept any lapses. We can see that the top is doing its best, but the lower you go the less effort and struggle for the reform and for the Ninth Congress program you encounter.

[Henzler] Who is to blame: people or the old mechanism?

[Kowalski] Both. The party has still not gotten rid of all those who should leave it. Besides these people will never leave the party on their own because they need the party. They include representatives of all levels of administration, the intermediate personnel in plants, managers and foremen--people who often make life miserable for workers. It is not what they think that matters, but what they do. They only talk about the worker and deny him in all possible cases: "For the worker, with the worker, thanks to the worker," and so on. But their talking is not matched by action. They gradually forget about the worker's lot until the country begins to seethe again. Then they wake up, and you begin hearing again: "For the worker, with the worker," and so on. If the worker were really the apple of their eye, there would never be so much bitterness around.

[Henzler] This means that only the worker knows what the lot of the worker is?

[Kowalski] Yes. Not even a scientist from a party institute knows the worker. Nor do many ministers know him. Otherwise there would never have been so many erroneous decisions made, including decisions against the workers' judgments.

[Henzler] When I toured your tanning plant your fellow workers were not very talkative.

[Kowalski] Did you expect them to be enthusiastic when they cannot make ends meet from month to month? We earn 211,500 on the average a month. Our plant has its traditions and its workers have no connections with the rural areas. Out of over 800 workers only a score or so are peasant workers. Those who come to work in our plant from the Eastern regions of the country are surprised that the water pipes in our washroom function and that water taps have not been stolen or destroyed. We are not the best work force in our branch and we produce the cheapest leather in the country. We have never gone on strike, but we have never gotten out of our work what we would like to.

[Henzler] You do not sound optimistic.

[Kowalski] Life is not easy.

CSO: 2600/1195

POLAND

LEADERS REPLY TO USSR CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE

LD022007 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 2 Aug 83

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug--The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have received a telegram from Polish leaders in reply to the congratulations on the occasion of the national holiday of the Polish People's Republic.

The telegram, signed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski, says in part: "The fraternal alliance of Poland and the Soviet Union, sealed by the jointly shed blood in the victorious struggle against Hitler's fascism, has passed the trial of time. This alliance, which is the cornerstone of Polish state interests, has served well the cause of the all-round development of our countries and the entire community of socialist states."

"It is with profound gratification that we receive your high appraisal of the achievements of our country's working people over the past 39 years of People's Poland existence. We deeply realize that a tremendous role in our successes has been played by fraternal assistance, friendship and cooperation with the land of the Soviets. We have felt it with special force in recent years, when we had to overcome a crisis and defend Poland's socialist way of development," the telegram continues.

"We are deeply convinced," the Polish leaders write, "that friendship and cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which are based on the ideological unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties, will further develop and strengthen for the benefit of our peoples, in the interests of socialism and peace in Europe and all over the world."

CSO: 2020/60

# LABOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL VIEWS WORKERS' RIGHTS UNDER NEW LAW

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Babel, head of the Department of Labor Law of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, by Halina Lesnicka; date and place not specified]

[Text] The process of coming out of the crisis will require that all the employees work in a quiet, disciplined and well-organized manner. This is a basic prerequisite for overcoming current difficulties and embarking on the road to economic stabilization. The Sejm, guided by the above considerations as well as the desire to ensure the efficient operation of enterprises, adopted on 21 July a law on specific legal regulations during the period of surmounting the socioeconomic crisis. The law abolishes the restrictions on workers' rights which were in effect under the suspension of martial law and reinstates regular procedures for concluding and cancelling labor contracts as envisaged by the rules of the labor code.

In view of these parliamentary resolutions, we have approached the head of the Department of Labor Law in the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, Stanislaw Babel, with a request to review the items of the law which are most vital to the employees' interests.

[Question] What effect has the lifting of the state of war had in the sphere of workers' rights? What restrictions imposed on the workers have been abolished? What changes in these rights result from the law on specific legal regulations?

[Answer] The reinstatement of free cancellations of labor contracts is the most significant change. Now any employee can annul his labor contract, and this annulment will take effect. Previously, under the suspension of martial law, the consent of the employer was necessary for an employee to leave a key enterprise. Now, the usual freedom to annul labor contracts as defined by the labor code is reinstated. This is a very essential matter, in that it enables us to return to normal labor relations which prevailed before the imposition of martial law.

However, in order to prevent a rapid outflow of employees from the enterprises which are most vital for the economy, the law entitles the managers of such enterprises to extend the length of notice to be given by up to



6 months in justified cases (a list of such enterprises will be announced by the Council of Ministers).

This resolution does not impinge either on the workers' interest or the freedom of their decision. Its only aim is to safeguard the interests of the economy in this difficult period of transition. Currently, the situation in the labor market is very unfavorable. The number of free available jobs is the highest in the postwar period, the rate of labor turnover is high. On top of that, there are disproportions in wages and differentiation in conditions on the job, which prompt the workers of key plants to go to smaller enterprises offering better conditions and higher wages. These matters cannot be corrected overnight, it takes time. Therefore, the law provides certain safeguards against a rapid outflow of the skilled workforce and accords the key enterprises the time to train new cadres.

Obviously, the extension of the lengths of notice will not be applied comprehensively and in all enterprises, but only with regard to the truly essential employees. The law itself forbids such extension for pregnant women, handicapped in categories I and II and persons taking care of small children.

[Question] However, if the extension results in considerable complications for the worker, for example, in his inability to accept employment at a new enterprise, can the worker appeal this decision?

[Answer] Certainly, the law provides for an opportunity to appeal to the higher echelon which the enterprise reports to. Its decision is final (simultaneously, no opportunity of appeal to a labor court in this matter is envisaged). Besides, if the extension of the period of notice due to various considerations is not acceptable to the worker, he can withdraw his notice and remain at the [old] enterprise. This is a new arrangement, since the regulations of labor law did not envisage an opportunity of withdrawing the notice unilaterally.

[Question] What if the worker does not accept the decision on the extension of notice and leaves the enterprise anyway?

[Answer] Then he is treated as a person lawlessly abandoning his job.

[Question] Are the sanctions for the lawless abandonment of a job the same as under the suspension of martial law?

[Answer] The law on specific legal regulations has considerably lessened these sanctions. For example, under the suspension of martial law, in this case the worker did not qualify for a salary higher than the previous one. As a result, on many occasions he could not accept [new] employment, because his salary would not fit the pay scales in effect. Now these requirements have been made more realistic. The worker must be given the lowest salary envisaged by the pay scales of the new enterprise for his particular job. He can be promoted after a period of 1 year. If his achievements are outstanding, his salary can even be increased after 6 months (in consultation with the trade union of the enterprise).

The law also provides for imposing fines on the managers of enterprises who do not obey these regulations. A worker can be employed in his new job only after he produces his labor certificate. Failure to obey regulations can also result in a fine.

[Question] In the environment where enterprises compete for workers, these sanctions are not much of a burden...

[Answer] Large enterprises, which are of fundamental importance to the economy, are the hardest hit by the labor shortage. They must enjoy priority in satisfying their needs in personnel. It is due to this that the law also envisages the possible introduction of a mandatory labor exchange. Certainly, such an exchange will not apply to everyone as well, but only to certain professional groups, sectors of the economy or areas. The Council of Ministers can establish a mandatory exchange of labor only with regard to key enterprises.

On the other hand, the law also makes it possible to impose on the enterprises the duty of employing certain categories of persons, because enterprises, especially in the environment of economic reform, resort to various tricks when they do not wish to employ the handicapped, single mothers, persons recovering from illnesses and those leaving correctional institutions.

[Question] The law entitles the managers of key enterprises to set the worktime at 8 hours a day and 46 hours a week. Does this mean that Saturdays off are totally done away with?

[Answer] Of course not. The worktime will not be increased for all employees, and this can only be done in key enterprises. The manager of such an enterprise will decide whether it is necessary to extend the worktime and whether the measure should apply to only some shops, professional groups or a part of the workforce. Similarly to the period of suspension of martial law, work during extended hours must be additionally remunerated on par with the work on days off and overtime. Therefore, all [economic] branch policies and provisions concerning remuneration for additional work, for example on Saturdays off remain in effect. The law itself specifies that these regulations do not apply to and do not affect the status of groups such as pregnant women, those taking care of small children, minors, handicapped in the I and II categories and persons employed for extended worktime.

[Question] What changes does the law introduce as far as other workers' privileges are concerned?

[Answer] Recently, various allowances and services offered by economic branches have become very controversial. They cause unjustifiable differentiation in the accessibility of attractive consumer goods as well as wage differentiation which is not justified by performance. Adding on new allowances has often been a mode of hidden wage increases.

Due to this, the law introduces a freeze on all allowances and other services by economic branches at the present level. With a view to the future rebuilding of the incentive function of wages, this is the only rational solution which does not violate the principles of justice and conforms to the spirit of economic reform.

The regulations reviewed here are provisional, they will remain in effect until the end of 1985. The Council of State can come out with a motion to reduce this period of time, the socioeconomic situation permitting. The sole aim of the regulations is to create conditions for a more stable economy and operation of enterprises, because satisfying the social needs and, ultimately, overcoming the crisis is contingent upon that.

9761

CSO: 2600/1132

PRIVATE MEDICAL SERVICE ADVOCATED IN MEDICAL REFORM

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 14 Jun 83 p 3

/Interview with Prof Tadeusz Koszarowski, managing rector of the Institute of Oncology in Warsaw and chairman of the Social Health Council, by Wanda Strzalkowska/

/Text/ /Question/ Professor, you are the chairman of the Social Health Council at the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. What are the tasks of the council and who participates in it?

/Answer/ The form of social consultation makes it possible to shed light on a number of matters, to stress strategic directions and to propose the passing of a specific plan of work. This is the task of the council as an advisory body while its make-up enables the comprehensive evaluation of occurrences. The council is composed of representatives of medical and nursing associations, the Health Board within the Central Committee of PZPR, the Sejm Health Board, natural environment protection agencies and the press world. Thus, this is a body knowledgeable in the problems surrounding health protection, its needs and all of its various shortcomings which are so often pointed out by society.

/Question/ The council was formed a year ago. Can it already boast of some sort of advisory achievements?

/Answer/ We have established three main directions of activity and we have set up a corresponding number of task teams within the council. One of them is in charge of medical ethics within the socialist health service. The ethics committee follows the guidelines set by the Polish Medical Society which compels physicians to observe the established principles of professional conduct. We place a great deal of emphasis on this and for this reason, beginning with next year, candidates for medical studies will have to familiarize themselves with these principles because knowledge in this field will be mandatory and included in the entrance exam to medical schools. Special textbooks dealing with this subject are also being prepared for medical students. Young people should be aware of the kind of profession that they are choosing and that it is characterized by compassion for the patient and responsibility toward him. Such a theme will also be incorporated into the Hippocratic oath which medical school graduates take during commencement ceremonies.



/Question/ And what is the next matter proposed by the council to the minister of health and social welfare?

/Answer/ It concerns a very disquieting phenomenon, namely the excessively high mortality rate among the male population, especially young men often in their thirties. We will present the draft plan for activity to be undertaken as early as in June of this year because we want it to take effect as soon as possible. This premature mortality among men results from, among other things, lung cancer caused by cigarette smoking, on the job accidents and injuries as well as traffic accidents and those occurring on farms; many of these take place while the person is under the influence of alcohol. Technical standards must be raised in order to achieve the proper degree of work safety and hygiene. The high mortality rate among men is the result of bad habits, improper nutrition, unsanitary lifestyle and the lack of recreational activity and sports, thus insufficient oxygen amounts reaching the body which gives rise to the incidence of heart and coronary diseases. In analyzing the situation and the given data, we are pondering over what measures to take in order to counteract this effectively.

/Question/ Is the council thinking of a reform of the health service system? The cutlays for medical care are increasing all the time while the population is complaining about the quality of health services.

/Answer/ We compared the health services budgets of other European countries with the budget of our health service. It is the best. In spite of this, everyone is grumbling; many are disenchanted in their expectations: the health service and patients alike. Where does the problem lie? What has to be changed? The reform of the health care system is our third major direction of activity. It is worth recalling that three reform proposals have been formulated, which were prepared by three different organs, among others, by the Planning Committee team. The draft plans are in agreement on the general assumptions, however, the problem is in the details. We are intently searching for a solution.

/Question/ The public was informed about these projects but in brief press releases without elaborating on the subject. Therefore, various rumors have been circulating and the one which is the most disturbing is that there will be a certain charge for medical treatment. But we have been raised under the banners of general and free health care.

/Answer/ The said constitutional entry was adapted in its time to the needs of a society levelled by poverty and biologically devastated by the Nazi invaders. Today, overlooking the temporary crisis situation, our society is wealthier but more diversified in terms of wealth. Currently, a new social agreement should be drawn up which would guarantee the citizen the availability and free use of basic, essential services as well as the opportunity to satisfy subjective, more demanding needs of the better off segment of the population.

In my opinion, besides the social health service, there should be a cooperative as well as private sector. We should also give thought to the management of drugs and medicine. Should there be a charge for them or not or perhaps a partial payment? These questions come about as a result of the great waste of medical drugs, simply put--their squandering. When as a young doctor before the war, I was beginning my work in the hospital, we were made strictly accountable for the prescriptions which we had written. From the point of view of medicine, prescribing excessive amounts of medical drugs points to the low level of professional knowledge. In some countries, physicians who prescribe more than two drugs to a patient immediately find themselves under scrutiny: are they really that knowledgeable in the medical arts. These are matters which require a thorough analysis so that in presenting its opinion to the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, the council will not make a mistake.

/Question/ Thank you for the interview.

9853

GSC: 2600/1072

PUBLIC OPINION POLL ON HEALTH SERVICES CONDUCTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] At the request of the Sejm's health commission, the Public Opinion Research Center conducted a survey on social opinion concerning the activities of health services.

Research was conducted on such subjects as access to doctor's care, its quality, eventual changes in social medical care and cooperative or private practice.

The indicator of the value of access to doctor's care was the response to the following question: "If you are in need of a doctor's care, is it easy or difficult to obtain?" Seventy-three (73) percent of those surveyed stated that access to a doctor is easy to obtain, 25 percent stated that it is difficult and 2 percent did not have any opinion.

Despite the fact that the poll showed a relatively high rate for access to a doctor, a comparison with data from 1976 shows a decline in access as compared to the mid-1970's. At that time, 82 percent of those surveyed stated that it was easy to obtain a doctor's assistance, 17 percent that it was difficult and only 1 percent did not express an opinion.

The results of the last poll showed that the basic form of a doctor's care is still social medical care. But compared to 1976, there has been an increase in the number of patients using paid medicine. In 1976, 10 percent of those surveyed used private medicine and 3 percent used cooperative medicine, while in 1983, these numbers rose to 12 and 7 percent, respectively.

As compared to 1976, there was a marked worsening in the quality of medicine supplied by the state health services. In 1976, this medical care was regarded as good by 80 percent of those using the state's medical services, while it was only 67 percent in 1983. In 1976, 19 percent were unhappy with the state's medical services and 33 percent in this year's poll.

The most frequently cited complaints in 1983 on the subject of health care were as follows: Long waits in line for a doctor, 59 percent of those persons using state health services; rapid examination by the doctor of the

sick persons, 31 percent; the impossibility of being treated throughout the illness by the same doctor, 19 percent; shortage of analytical laboratories, 15 percent.

The Public Opinion Research Center also discussed the subject worked out by the Sejm's health commission on "proposals for changes in the principles of health care functioning under the conditions of economic reform."

The first researched issue was the eventuality of basically reorganizing health care in urban apartment blocks depending upon the introduction of general practitioners who had more or less constant access to patients, or as an alternative--preventive health care groups living in some of the smaller blocks. The choice of the respondents depended to a large extent on the size of the city in which they were living. The larger the number of residents in a given city, the more the respondents preferred the first option. For home doctors, the choices were 49 percent from small cities, 51 percent from medium cities and 59 percent from large cities. For preventive health care groups, 48 percent of those surveyed were from small cities, 40 percent from medium and 35 percent from large cities.

However, with respect to the following researched problem--free choice of doctor--the majority of the respondents were in agreement. The possibility of free choice of doctor was an important matter for 80 percent of those surveyed, not important for 16 percent and of no opinion for 4 percent. A significant majority of city residents (73 percent) would like to have the possibility of free choice of doctor in the entire city, not just in the confines of the region. Likewise, a decisive majority of those surveyed (83 percent) called for the introduction of a patient's health booklet containing current, complete information on the state of the patient's health, past illnesses and test results.

The next issue in the poll was the eventual reorganization of the industrial health services model. The majority of those surveyed (57 percent) felt that industrial health services should be joined as before with preventive medicine, and 27 percent felt that industry should concentrate only on prevention and a portion of its doctors should be transferred to regional centers.

In the opinion of the respondents, there was also the possibility of introducing payments for certain medical examinations. The results of the poll showed that the introduction of payments would be acceptable to the majority only in cases like unnecessary use of an ambulance or in unneeded operations like plastic surgery. On the other hand, the respondents felt that payments for other cases like house calls, visits to the doctor or stays in a sanatorium would be unjustifiable.

There was a general negative concerning the subject of introducing payments for medical services or that payments would raise the level of social services. Forty-seven (47) percent responded to this question negatively, 42 percent positively and 11 percent had no opinion.



Arguments for expanded collectivized medical care were expressed as follows: collectives expand access to medical care, facilitate access to a chosen doctor and, provide specialists who are difficult to reach. Doctors working in a collective have more concern for a patient than does social health services. Collectives create better conditions for obtaining doctor's assistance and facilitate more quickly the formalities, which reduces the number of persons having to wait for service. The majority of those surveyed would hope that the medical collectives had the same authority in treating patients as do the regional agencies so as to be able to grant sick leaves, hospital stays or sanatoria access.

Thus went the survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center. The results should be taken into consideration not only by the Sejm commission but also by the health ministry.

9307

CSO: 2600/1133

BRIEFS

POLISH MISSIONARIES--The Polish Church sent out 91 missionaries: 48 monks, 13 secular priests, and 28 nuns. Most of them will be working in churches in Africa. Some of them have also gone to the Far East and to South America. At the beginning of 1983 a total of 1323 Polish missionaries were active in the mission field. [Text] [Budapest KATOLIKUS SZO in Hungarian 21-28 Aug 83 p 7]

CSO: 2500/431

FASCIST ERA RECALLED BY HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 13 May 83 p 23

[Article by Oliver Lustig: "A Road to Maidanek"]

[Text] The bus is in no hurry. It is doing barely 60 km per hour. My eyes should be captivated by the new scenery adorned with the splendid colors of spring. Yet, emotions are so overwhelming me, thoughts so strongly stirring my soul that I can see nothing of that which passes in front of my eyes. The bus which I took from Warsaw left Lublin and is approaching one of the former Nazi concentration camps, the famous Maidanek extermination camp.

Thirty-nine years ago I knew "first hand" as they say, the hell of the Hitler concentration camps in Poland. I thought that after almost four decades I would be able to visit such a camp with a certain detachment, a certain calmness that I fully expected the inexorable passage of time to give to me. But, in vain. The wounds of that period, especially those of the spirit, do not want to heal at all. The suffering, the humiliation, the bestiality of that time cannot be, nor should they be, forgotten. I have always felt and stated this. Thus, I have written and I am continually writing about these times. This conviction of mine has been reinforced now, after I had listened for four days in a row, from morning until night, to the papers presented to the scientific session organized by the High Commission for Research on Hitler's Crimes in Poland. It was a session on Nazi genocide in Poland and in Europe.

The 160 reports and papers delivered in the sections and in the plenary session reconstructed a tableau as authentic and meticulous as it was distressing. It presented a picture of the Nazi horrors, of the unprecedented dimensions of the genocide committed, of the incredible bestiality practiced with modern methods. In final judgment they condemned Nazism and they also demonstrated the peril of neo-Nazism and all forms of racism. They pointed out the civil and moral duty of honest men everywhere to do everything possible so that the crimes of the past will never be repeated, to struggle against war and for peace and understanding between peoples. Many of the reports recalled aspects of the dramatic war of resistance. Furthermore, the session itself was part of a group of activities brought about by the 40th anniversary of the heroic uprising in the Warsaw ghetto. Those who appeared before the tribunal, from more than 20 countries, the majority from Europe--but also from the U.S., Israel, Australia and Japan--were history professors, judges, researchers,

educators, top archivists and chairmen of anti-fascist committees and foundations. They presented their views and evaluations of the documents, of the social inquiry, of the investigation scrupulously carried out over the years and decades. Among the over 300 participants at the session, there were a number of us who had survived the concentration camps.

During a break in the session, one participant, a top archivist in his country, upon learning that I would present the report for the Romanian delegation, asked me: "What archives have you researched?" I told him that the report I was going to give about the martyrdom of 160,000 innocent people deported to Birkenau-Auschwitz from a Transylvania ruthlessly seized by the Horthyites was based not on documents yellowing in the archives, but on the events through which I lived or to which I was an eye witness.

Of course, the report I presented pointed out that the deportations carried out in this region and the extermination of most of those deported were based on the arbitrary Vienna Diktat of August 1940 through which the Third Reich, in direct complicity with fascist Italy, annexed Romania's northwest territory, namely north and east Transylvania, to Horthyite Hungary.

The truth is that the entire terrible practice continued over the years in accomplishing "the final solution," in organizing mass murder, in planning and carrying out transports to Birkenau-Auschwitz was brought to full fruition in the deportation of Jews from Hungary and particularly those from the part annexed from Romania.

The images registered 39 years ago with terrorized eyes upon stepping down from the cattle cars to the platform of the dead at Birkenau-Auschwitz, instead of fading, took on a new acuity from the documents kept in archives. Back then, for weeks and months on end, I did not want to accept, I could not believe what I had been told--several hours after leaving my mother and three brothers--that they, all three of whom were put into the line on the right, were no longer alive. On that same day of 9 June 1944, 4 trains of 50 cars each from northern Transylvania arrived on the same platform and the males who remained alive were housed in a single hut.

This reality I saw with my own eyes. The testimony is written only now, after almost four decades. That pace of extermination was possible because Eichmann and Hoss ordered and took rapid, special measures at Birkenau since the rate of transports from the northern part of Transylvania annexed by the Horthyites was overtaxing the capacity of the crematoriums, 9,000 bodies in 24 hours. The Horthyites were transporting some 12,000 to 13,000 deportees daily. Consequently, as was recorded in the minutes of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, "In great haste direct access was established from the platform of the dead to the crematoriums.... Within 2 or 3 days, the Sonderkommando workforce inside the crematoriums was increased from 600 persons to 800.... Selected commandos--from 150 to 700 men...dug giant holes 300 meters long and 15 meters wide--as was done before there were crematoriums--in which the bodies were burned continuously, day and night. The Jews and Hungarians who were alive (10 percent of those who arrived) were sent to the concentration camps."\*

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\*Eichmann in Hungary. Documents published by Levai Jenő, Budapest 1961, p 256.



A comment should be added to the testimony recorded at Nuremburg. After a Nazi leader of Speer's stature complained that the percentage of workers left alive from the first 150,000 people at Auschwitz's gas chambers was too low, (he was talking about the first groups from the occupied parts of Transylvania and the subcarpathian Ukraine: author's note) the guards always present at the selection process at the ramp of the dead had to be satisfied with sending only three-fourths of every convoy directly to the gas chambers.

The conditions under which the deportations from the Horthyite-occupied part of Romania took place, the ordeal which the 160,000 victims underwent at Kosice where they were taken over by the SS, supports the view that their martyrdom was the most cruel, that it was planned with unprecedented ferocity and brutality, that in carrying it out the Nazis, backed by the Horthyites, attained the apogee of organized mass murder, that they achieved the technical "perfection" of a conveyor belt death.

Nor did Fascism's horrors spare Romania. On the Jewish question, although more Jews were saved from the Holocaust in Romania than in almost all of the countries in Europe put together, one nonetheless must not forget the crimes committed by the Legionaires and by some of the organs of the Antonescu military-fascist regime, crimes disapproved of and condemned by the Romanian people.

In the bus taking us to Maidanek, I am sitting next to Christof Schmink-Gustavus, a young history of law professor at the university in Bremen. We are both overwhelmed by the gravity of the discussions in which we participated; the road to Maidanek upsets both of us. In the imposing assembly hall where the sessions took place, a sui generis display had been set up. During each recess I looked again and again at the maps showing the locations of the concentration camps and at the tables showing their terrible efficiency. Dachau: 250,000 entered its gates, 148,000 were exterminated--59.5 percent; Ravensbruck: 132,000 entered, 92,000 exterminated--69.7 percent; Neuengamme: 106,000 entered, 82,000 exterminated--77.4 percent; Birkenau-Auschwitz: 4,405,000 entered, 4,000,000 exterminated--90 percent. Above all, marked with a distinctive symbol, were the total extermination camps: Chelmo: 330,000 entered its gates, 330,000 were exterminated--100 percent; Belzec: 600,000 entered, 600,000 exterminated--100 percent; Treblinka: 900,000 in, 900,000 exterminated--100 percent. Maidanek was listed among the death camps. So, we grow ever more anxious as we near this camp that is now a museum.

The regular conversation with my interlocutor is spontaneously changing into a vertible interview:

As a professor law history, what is your view? Who is guilty, who is responsible for the endless series of crimes which were the focus of this session and for whose exhaustive inventory the subsequent decades have not been sufficient?

I cannot separate my capacity as a professor from that as a man, especially when it is a question of crimes against humanity and not, therefore, about Germany, keeping in mind that this genocide, unprecedented in history, was committed by Nazis. The guilty, of course, were the perpetrators, die Tatigkeiter, all these involved from those at the top who conceived, ordered and organized

the Holocaust, down to those who carried it out. It is evident, however, that a people taken as a whole, cannot be found guilty; collective guilt, at the level of a people, does not exist. But responsibility, collective moral responsibility, does. Thus, as far as I am concerned--and there are many, very many, in the Federal Republic of Germany who think as I do--I reflect a lot about the things that happened, to understand them and, especially, learning from the lessons of history, to work so that the past can never be repeated in any way.

And yet, how was it possible that a people regarded for their culture and civilization could produce such beasts who planned, built and flawlessly operated hundreds, thousands of death factories? How could they have watched with one hand on the trigger and the other on the whip so that the dead on the conveyor belt never stopped, day or night?

In my view, it came about through that system of dictatorship, that terror and inhumanity called Nazism under which concentration camps were possible because men did not see the need to fight against it in time; they did not sense the danger; the progressive forces were divided. Too, you must realize that entire generations were raised under the slogan, "du musst das macht" (you must do what you are told). No one told them, no one demanded of them: "Think! Judge! Choose!" Another explanation is the war. The war of unrestrained aggression creates monsters, sets up an environment favorable to human degradation; it stimulates outrages.

Consequently?

Consequently, we, today's generation, have an obligation to ourselves, to our future--and as proof we condemn the past--to clearly appreciate, in total seriousness, the period of new-Nazism. Of course, the number of those who try to propagate old Nazi slogans under a new form, who deny the crimes of the past, are few. But, in time of crisis, their reemergence could take on significant proportions. Thus, to underestimate them is dangerous, perilous.

And the present generations, especially today's youth in your country, do they fully understand this?

Well, my generation of professors and teachers tells today's youth much more about what Nazism meant, about the chain of suffering, about the irreparable destruction that war really entails, than we were told when we were students. Then, many of our professors, as former "soldiers" as they called themselves, frequently spoke with nostalgia about warfare.

Our interview ends abruptly. The bus stopped suddenly. We get out and enter a former realm of the dead. I separate myself from the group and my distinguished interlocutor. I want to walk about the camp accompanied only by my thoughts. I have no need of guides or translators. I have no need because at first glance I realize that Maidanek is just a smaller version of Birkenau, or a larger extension of the Kaufering or Landsberg concentration camps where I had undergone my hell as a Haftling [detainee]. The SS demonstrated inexhaustible fantasy in devising methods of torture and means of murder.

All that I know about Birkenau I rediscover at Maidanek, in reduced dimensions. Here there is but 1 crematorium with 5 furnaces; there, there were 4 crematoriums with 48 furnaces. Here a gas chamber could scarcely hold 200 people; there they could pack in 2,000. And, the fences were lower and the punishment blocks less spacious. There is one striking difference. At Birkenau there is no personal evidence, no names. Nor is there any quantitative evidence, no numbers. They cannot even establish the exact number of those exterminated. Here, individual medical records were filled out for all those killed. I read one of them: Nationality: Jewish. Name: Handler, Julius. Block: 20/A. Number: 1132. Hour of death: 8:35. Cause of Death: Heart attack.

Compared with Birkenau, two things deeply unsettled me here. First of all, here, a great mound of ashes remained after burning the corpses. There they had been able to move it, to scatter it before abandoning the concentration camp. Here--no. The monument erected at Maidanek is overwhelming in its simplicity. A huge dome covers tons, carloads of ashes. After that, I was profoundly moved by a small room near the crematorium furnaces in which, on a pedestal, in a simple but impressive glass case, human bones are massed. At Birkenau, the SS blew up the four crematoriums before abandoning the concentration camp. They were unable to do this at Maidanek. They did not even have time to put out the fires that burned day and night. When the Soviet troops entered the camp, the first thing that they did was to extinguish the furnace flames. The bones of bodies--skulls, tibias and humeri--which had not yet turned to ashes rest now in that striking glass case, permanently surrounded by fresh flowers brought by museum visitors.

Leaving the concentration camp-museum, I again meet that young law history professor from the university in Bremen. In silence we take one last look at the immense dome that covers the ashes of the 360,000 bodies incinerated at this camp. We read the frontispiece inscription, etched in stone: "Our fate is a warning to you."

12280

CSO: 2700/263

# PRINTED T-SHIRTS, OTHER ITEMS 'IN POOR TASTE' CONDEMNED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Mihai Ionescu and Gheorghe Graure: "Objects of Everyday Use Also Have an Educational Value"]

[Excerpts] Why do some local organs permit the sale of decorative articles or articles of clothing which pollute good taste and spread dubious educational influences?

It can be said that for some time there has been a veritable invasion of articles and objects, not only of poor taste, but even with obvious anti-educational characteristics, on the markets of the cities, especially in the resorts. These items have been disseminated with the insolence and aggressiveness generated by a lack of good sense when it finds a terrain with unlimited tolerance.

With surprise, with amazement and with indignation, one finds more and more retail stores of moral pollution--stores which sell a veritable panoply of triviality. In these centers of poor taste "fashions" are launched--shirts and T-shirts imprinted with the faces of various singers (indigenous singers "specializing" in marriages or singers from abroad); jerseys with the names of all sorts of universities in all sorts of countries as well as belts in the colors of some flags and shirts with "imperial seals" are sold here. This "fashion" has contaminated other products: medallions with shells and combs with the portraits of various musical or movie stars, sweatshirts with cowboys on horseback, with airplanes, with tanks or steamships, with scorpions, tigers, panthers, crocodiles, pictures of boxers (with no name and no fame), cigarette brands or motorcycle ads.

For what circus, for what menagerie is such a bazaar intended? Of course, an educated young person, one with good sense and dignity will turn his back, disgusted, on such monkey-business; but, unfortunately, there are still some naive persons who believe that giving shelter to such vulgarities makes them "interesting"--to the delight of the respective merchants and businessmen for whom this pollution is especially lucrative. But through the naive and through the loafers, the "fashion" succeeds in contaminating others.



We spoke to a young man recently on Brezoianu Street. (He was wearing a jersey on which there was a flag surrounded by all sorts of foreign names; he could not say what these names represented and could not even pronounce them.) The young man, a technician in the Institute for Research and Design of Construction Apparatus, Virgil Nicolae, told us candidly: "I like a white T-shirt; it can be emprinted. I do not know why you are questioning me. Other young people dress like I do in the institute and in the district."

Of course tastes can be different. The responsibility for educating tastes in young people and for promoting authentic beauty lies, first of all, with the family, the school, the youth organizations in the enterprises and institutions where the young people work and study. But do not the respective collectives see the youths "decorated" with such objects each day? What are these collectives doing? What is their attitude? It seems that they do not have any when a "fashion" proliferates.

We proposed to find out where these articles of clothing were procured. First of all, it should be said that the sources are different. Some youths are happy to buy them ready-made, others, "more fussy," have the article made to order. The address of the units? Some sell their wares on street corners, others in improvised shops or in places known only to circles of young admirers, while others sell "at headquarters."

After a winding search we reached such an address: No 1 Zarafi Street. We read the name of the firm: "N. Duce Handicrafts." We try to enter. Impossible. Crowded like a market. The customers in the unit are crowding in, trying on, and holding up T-shirts. One orders: "Two scorpions and two rifles." Another says: "Give me two horses with cowboys and two Batmans." (For the uninformed reader, we explain that "rifle" is slang for carbine and "Batmans" are T-shirts which have a drawing with the inscription "BATMAN TM and CDC Comics Inc 1983 British Airways" (? ! ?). No one leaves the place empty-handed. In the few minutes that I was there they took in 1,000 lei.

During a breathing spell, when I was able to get to the counter, I asked the boss for the unit's authorization of operation. He took out of a file the original and a copy of the document requested. It read as follows: "Authorization No 1, 347 of the People's Council of Sector 3. The shop makes and sells handicraft objects approved by the Council of Socialist Culture and Education: wooden vases, bracelets, brooches, plates, appliques, glasses, pictures inspired by folklore (the quotes are ours) on wood and cloth."

--Fine, but what we see has nothing in common with what is written on the authorization--we say.

--You should know that I run a serious business. I am very closely monitored. Look at the inspection register. It is full of comments.

We look through the register and read: "An inspection report has been prepared in regard to the conditions of the exercise of activity and has been filed in the militia financial office of Sector 3." Inspector Elie Tudor signs this

statement. This comment--and signature--reappears many times on every page of the register. Not a word is said about the honesty and dishonesty of the trade practiced in this unit, about the observance of what is stated in the authorization of operation, or about the quality of the goods sold.

However, an inspector from the peoples council, the organ which entrusted the authorization of operation to a certain shop, on the firm condition that it produce only those consumer articles approved by the appropriate bodies, should report on these things and put an end to the production of anything in poor taste.

Two years ago, our newspaper exposed the same situation, attacking the lack of control and of discretion in approving designs, the increase in the number of street vendors selling kitsch, an erroneous interpretation, according to the whims and desire for profit on the part of the producers, of what is in demand and what should be sold to the public. In addition, we pointed out that the organs obliged to monitor the respecting of order and discipline in trade were not fully doing their duty. This is why, despite the assurances given at that time and the measures promised, street vendors, once again, flooded the streets, the resorts, and other localities with all sorts of T-shirts and bags, emprinted with advertisements for record companies, film studios, orchestras, and cigarette factories. It is obvious that such cases represent not only attacks on good taste but also factors of moral pollution, in addition to aesthetic pollution. (It is no less true that this "fashion" is skillfully profiting from some deficiencies, cases of sluggishness and dawdling on the part of our light industry, in the cooperative workshops. If the young people want to wear printed articles of clothing, with bright colors and beautiful designs, production and trade should provide proper models, in accordance with the demands of good taste--without turning the job over to businessmen and foreign imitations.)

As we know, the peoples councils and the administrative organs subordinate to them have, by law, broad prerogatives and functions in connection with the organization and control of trade. They also have serious responsibilities for the entire educational process. Therefore, public opinion is justified in expecting that the firm measures which are required will be taken without delay.

no: 2700/286

## YUGOSLAVIA

### WESTERN COMMENT ON TRIAL OF MUSLIMS IN SARAJEVO

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Aug 83 p 8

[Article, datelined 19 August, from Belgrade, by Viktor Meier: "Uncanny for the Authorities in Bosnia--Islam Is Reviving in Yugoslavia Too"]

[Text] A demonstrative trial such as Yugoslavia has not seen for decades is about to be concluded in Sarajevo. Twelve Moslems are standing trial who, for one thing, are being called fundamentalists yet are being accused of "nationalism," presumably to avoid the impression that this is a prosecution of religious views. The accused, two women among them, almost all stem from highly regarded Moslem families in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are plying creditable trades and are defending themselves with dignity and intelligence. The trial procedure and the investigation preceding it in turn have shown the characteristic marks of communist justice: The prosecution and the court do not acknowledge what the accused and their defense counsels have to say; on the contrary, the indictment is broadened during the trial, mainly by means of the all-inclusive article 133 in the Yugoslav Penal Code on "hostile propaganda."

Some witnesses changed what they had said during the pretrial investigation and frankly announced they had been put under pressure. One woman, before giving testimony, asked: "Is this court going to protect me then if I am telling the truth here?" Another woman testified she had been interrogated for hours over five days and had to memorize her testimony at the police station. The indictment comes from a woman whose name is Edina Residovic and who stems from a Moslem partisan family; she is flaunting her apostasy by mocking the accused on trial. Moslems in the Balkans who have turned atheist are apt to turn all the more militantly against their former, still religious, coreligionists and against their religion altogether. The radicalism of atheism in Albania and the tough sentences pronounced against clergy in Bosnia are both likely to be largely attributable to that phenomenon.

The Sarajevo trial touches on a theme that is sensitive for Bosnia and all of Yugoslavia. The renaissance that has engulfed the Islamic world has not stopped short before the nearly 4 million Moslems in Yugoslavia. They are divided into two groups different in orientation. The Albanians, nearly two million, are Albanians first and Moslems only secondarily. As the hodjas are usually hostile to Albanian nationalism, Islam is of slight importance to them. But the Moslems in Bosnia have their own cultural and historic identity, not

only as a religious community but also in the national sense. That the 1971 census for the first time officially acknowledged a Moslem nationality merely meant drawing an inference from a fact. There are difficulties, to be sure, in equating nation and religion. Not all Bosnian Moslems agree with that. That explains why so many Moslems called themselves Yugoslavs (326,000) at the last census of 1981. On the other hand, among the religious Moslems of Bosnia there is an evidently growing movement that wants to take the Koran for a basis for general and even political life. Such aspirations have received strong support from the establishment of a Koran school that even includes a section for girls, and of an Islamic theological faculty in Sarajevo, even if they are only partly reflected by these schools. There is a tendency in Arab and other Moslem countries to turn Sarajevo into an Islamic bridgehead for all of Europe, as indicated by monetary donations.

The accused in the present trial are adherents of the radical Islamic tendency, even though they are only theoreticians. Their relations with Khomeini's Iran are not in doubt. Some accused have taken trips to Iran. Of little benefit for the conviviality of various peoples and religions are the fundamentalist Islamic tendencies--in accordance with the tradition coming down from the Turkish era, nation and religion still are mostly given parity in Yugoslavia--because the Koran contains regulations on dealing with "infidels" and many other ideas beside that are unpracticable for a modern multinational state. But what does it amount to then, religion or politics? The Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities have decided it is politics. They are talking about "nationalism," "terrorist conspiracy," and of seeking an "ethnically pure Bosnia," even though the word "ethnic," in contradistinction to Kosovo, makes no sense there. In the same breath the prosecutors have to admit, however, that the accused by no means constitute an organized group.

The police zeal in Sarajevo, the city of the coming Olympics, is all the more strange because within the Islamic community the views of the accused by no means are majority views. So one could have left it to the Moslem community itself to isolate the radical Islamic tendencies. The "Islamic Declaration" presented as a manifest to some of the accused was, incidentally, written way back in 1970, and Yugoslavia was able to live with it for 14 years. The trial and the methods used in it have aroused the Moslems in Bosnia generally, however, because they do not like to be mocked and placed under a negative light. There also is fear that the Catholics and Orthodox will now be persecuted more in Bosnia. Of importance also is that not only Iran but other nonaligned Islamic countries as well will take note of it. The first voices of protest can already be heard from Libya and elsewhere. Reporting on the trial is made difficult for foreign newspapers. From some sessions the public was barred, lest Yugoslavia's relations with other nonaligned states be affected.

5885

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BULGARIA ACCUSED OF VIOLATING CSCE WITH MACEDONIA POLICY

AU211412 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 Aug 83 p 2

[Bosko Nacevski commentary: "Sofia's Appropriations"]

[Excerpts] It is not for the first time that the Sofia official circles have found themselves in a deep abyss of their own errors. Recently, in their efforts to fill the gaps in their own history with the historical values of others, they have reached once again for the events and personalities of Macedonian national history. This time, the nationalist circles in Bulgaria used the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising as a motive for their anti-Macedonian outbursts.

When fanaticism assumes pathological dimensions, then the border between the real and the absurd disappears, regardless of the period and the changes in it. How else can we interpret the latest actions of our eastern neighbors who have included the Ilinden uprising of the Macedonians in the calendar of important Bulgarian events and appropriated the pleiad of the Macedonian revolutionaries and patriots, Goce Delcev, Dame Gruev, Jane Sandanski, Nikola Karev, Pitu Guli, and scores of others among whom several were victims of the shots fired by Sofia's hirelings, as "Bulgarian patriots" with reference to whom RABOTNICHESKO DELO, organ of the BCP Central Committee, notes in its 3 August issue that theirs was an "emphatically Bulgarian awareness?"

Carrying some parts of the report read on the preceding day at the Sofia festive event on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising, this Bulgarian party organ says among other things that the goal of the Ilinden uprising was allegedly the "national liberation of the enslaved Bulgarians" and that it therefore represented an "important event in the consolidation of the Bulgarian nation in that period."

This Sofia newspaper which, in the euphoria of anti-Macedonian outbursts and attacks, from time to time, displays a certain moderation as compared to some other central Bulgarian newspapers, this time has gone as far as to reveal the sore spots also on the body of its own nationalism. The fact is that the aforementioned report was written by Yordan Yotov, chief editor of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, who included in it, for the needs of the Bulgarian propaganda machinery, also the absurd claim that the term Macedonians used by the Macedonian revolutionaries as an expression of their national affiliation in the period of the

Ilinden uprising had a "geographic but not an ethnic meaning." And he further concludes that the "Bulgarian peasants" were the main motive force of the uprising.

As an illustration, let us recall that in its 2 August 1950 issue the very same newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO wrote, as it put it itself, on the occasion of the "47th anniversary of the 1903 Macedonian uprising" the following: "The Ilinden uprising is the highest and brightest revolutionary expression of the Macedonian national liberation movement. It is a characteristic of the Ilinden uprising that it was carried out nearly exclusively by Macedonian peasants."

This alone sufficiently explains the unprecedented historical inconsistency that is the main characteristic of the Bulgarian official policy and the Bulgarian press whenever and wherever the national individuality of the Macedonians is involved. The carefully cultivated arsenal of untruths is always opened according to the need to support hegemonistic ambitions and greater Bulgarian aspirations. It is quite obvious that, with its celebrations and its "theses" about Macedonia, Bulgaria is basically violating also the principles of the Helsinki declaration which it has signed itself.

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